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The Right Reverend J. F. Sweeny, D.D.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1912-13.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS
DURING THE SESSIONS OF
1912-13 AND 1913-14

PART I. EDITED BY
D. J. GOGGIN

PART II. EDITED BY
ALFRED HALL

TENTH AND ELEVENTH YEAR OF ISSUE

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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PART I

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

1912-13

Honorary President - THE LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

President - - - RIGHT REV. J. F. SWEENY, D.D.

First Vice-President - RICHARD A. STAPELLS

Second Vice-President - HON. JAMES CRAIG

Third Vice-President - LIEUT.-COL. M. S. MERCER

Secretary-Treasurer - G. B. HUNT

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E. K. RICHARDSON, M.D.
J. M. FOSTER, B.A.
NORMAN A. SOMMERVILLE, M.A.
H. H. NIGHTINGALE
FANE SEWELL
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R. J. STUART
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W. L. T. ADDISON, M.D.
W. B. TINDALL
ALBERT HAM, MUS. DOC.

Past Presidents

FRED. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.
COL. JAMES MASON
REV. WM. CLARK, D.D.
J. P. MURRAY, J.P.
J. F. M. STEWART, B.A.
D. J. GOGGIN, M.A., D.C.L.
ELIAS CLOUSE, M.D.
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

CONSTITUTION

Organization of Clubs and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—(1) The membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject, and shall consist of active members, life members, and honorary members.

Active Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for active membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active members shall pay an annual fee of $2.00. This sum shall include a free copy to each member of the annual volume of addresses. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life members not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time at any open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election as life members at any time, even though their election may cause the number of life members to exceed ten in any one year.

(2) Life members shall pay a fee of $25.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary members may be elected, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, at any general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting, or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second, Third Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; an Organizing Secretary; and twelve other members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members, together with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee. Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members to be held in the month of May in each year at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A Committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting.

(3) Two Auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—(1) In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—(1) The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer, duly audited.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—(1) Written notices shall be given to the members of the Club of all meetings. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the Post-office at Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—(1) Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual, or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—(1) No business other than the hearing of the Address and notice of motions shall be introduced at any general meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—(1) Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 14.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT GOVERNING THE AFFILIATION OF

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

and

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

1. That the Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada be affiliated with a view to mutually promoting the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire.

2. That Members of the Empire Club of Canada introduced by the Secretary of the Club on reporting their arrival in England to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute be made Honorary Fellows for one month.

3. That residents in the Dominion of Canada may become *both* non-resident Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute and Members of the Empire Club of Canada on being duly proposed and seconded, and on payment of an Entrance Fee of One Guinea and an Annual Subscription of One Guinea, for which they will receive the Journal of the Institute *United Empire* free of charge, and have the use of the Institute Building when in London as a Standing Address. This subscription will cover Membership of both the Club and the Institute, and shall be allotted to the Institute and the Club in the proportion of three dollars and fifty cents to the former, and one dollar and fifty cents to the latter.

4. That all publications of the Empire Club of Canada shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute as soon as published, and each Member of the Institute, so desiring, shall be entitled to a copy of the annual volume of the *Empire Club Proceedings and*

Addresses for the sum of seventy-five cents, or three shillings.

5. That the Monthly Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute *United Empire*, shall be supplied to the Members of the Empire Club of Canada who are *not* Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute at an Annual Subscription of one dollar, including postage, the ordinary subscription being one shilling per copy or twelve shillings a year exclusive of postage.

Received and adopted by the Empire Club of Canada, October 17, 1911.

The Object of the Club is
the Advancement of the Interests of
Canada and a United Empire

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

AUSTRALIA AND HER RELATIONS TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

An Address by the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE H. REID, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Australia, before the Empire Club of Canada, September 5, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I wish in the first place to express my indebtedness for the splendid compliment that you pay me by being here in such large and influential numbers at an entertainment in my honour as the representative of Australia in London. I shall have great pleasure in conveying to the people of Australia the exceedingly grateful warmth of this friendly, fraternal demonstration.

The subject that I have chosen for to-day is "Australia and her Relations to the British Empire," and in dealing with that subject I must also incidentally speak about the relations of Canada to the British Empire. Together they represent seven millions of square miles of British territory, seven twelfths of the whole area of the British Empire.

Now, I must cast a glance backwards in order to say a word or two about the early relations between Great Britain and Australia. For many years after the first white settlement in 1788, the affairs of the colonists were administered by a Governor whose acts were all subject to the control of the Secretary of State in London. In those days London was at an immense distance from Australia. The seas were comparatively unknown; the art of steam navigation had not yet been discovered. It took months to voyage to Australia; those who started on that voyage had no sort of certainty that they would ever reach that country, and they were very sure that they could never return. How different is the case with Canada. People may venture from the British Isles cherishing a secret hope that they can return afterwards, if they please, to their native land; but the pioneers of Australia had to leave their native land, facing a dark, forbidding, anxious future, and with the sad feeling of the exile who sees his native shores for the last time.

In 1855 one of those noble conceptions of British statesmanship which ought to make the British Empire immortal, was the gift of self-government to the people of Australia, and with it the gift of that magnificent continent to a few thousand Australian colonists. The Australians seemed to some to be severing their connection with Great Britain as each official tie disappeared, but the miraculous happened. As each chain dropped off, as each tie disappeared, the warmth of loyalty and affection marvellously increased. I can remember, when a boy in Australia, that there were quite a number of people who believed their connection with England was a source of danger, and who cherished republican ideas; but as the years went on a truer conception of the benefits of British connection penetrated the minds of the people. I think I may say in all truth now that vast as that continent is, scattered as the Australians are upon its face, there is only one feeling, only one sentiment, a sentiment of gratitude for the majestic power which has watched over the growth of Australia, a strong sense that that little bit of bunting which has come down through the centuries, enables us, young as our people are, rich and vast as our country is, enables us all to sleep peacefully at night knowing that the Union Jack flutters on all the oceans of the world and makes our present and, I believe, our future, safe.

Ten years ago the British fleets asserted an unchallengeable supremacy upon the oceans of the world. At that time I was one of the public men of Australia. Questions of defence never crossed my mind very seriously in those days because I knew the pre-eminence, the overwhelming supremacy of the British fleets, not upon one ocean,—because their supremacy does not rest in the North Sea or the South Sea or the eastern seas or the western seas,—but their task is to guard Britain's integrity and commerce on all the oceans of the globe.

Ten years have seen a marvellous change. Navies of great strength and efficiency, tested by the highest standards, are rising upon the face of the waters. There is a great people, sixty millions and more, one of the finest peoples the earth has to-day—I allude to the German people, a people for whom I have the most unbounded admiration. We are kith and kin with them. We go back to a common stock and, when I see them developing the glorious attributes of our common origin, I have no feeling of envy, I have no desire to see unfriendly or disastrous things happen to them. Don't let us talk of the Germans as if those sixty millions of people were all inspired with a hatred of our Empire, or a desire to destroy it. In that country, as in every other country, there is a peace party, and there is a war party, and I honestly hope and believe that the peace-loving millions of Germany exceed in number, if not in official rank, the war-loving people of Germany.

But we must never forget the three great ideals which every high-spirited race possesses. First, the ideal of preserving against all comers our racial integrity; next, that of defending our territorial boundaries against all invasions; and next, and not least, the task of developing in an ever-increasing measure national health, wealth, strength, and greatness.

Now, these are the ideals before us, and looking in no unfriendly spirit at the other races which inhabit the earth in common with us, I think I can say that these ideals appeal, if anything, more strongly to the British race than to any other race looking up into the face of the sun.

Peace is another ideal. What a sad prospect humanity would have if it were doomed to an everlasting race of military and naval preparation! I am not one of those who want to denaturalize human nature. I know that, as long as we possess the feelings, the ambitions of human nature, our combative instincts can never be destroyed; but my hope is that at no distant time those invaluable motive powers which in the past history of mankind called for so much bloodshed, so much oppression, so great wrongs, will be gloriously diverted into channels unstained by human blood; in which our desire to excel, to gain supremacy, to occupy the van in the march of nations, will be sought, not by these modern methods of slaughter by machinery, but by the peaceful and noble emulations which belong to paths of industry, commerce, enterprise, and science. Why, gentlemen, the combative instincts of mankind even now seem to have no scope in these enormous developments. Battleship after battleship is added to do what? To aim at sham targets, to cripple the strength, the financial prosperity of the peace-loving nations; but although we love peace, whilst the danger of war and conquest is still in the air, we must fight for peace, fight for our own peace, fight for the peace of the world, and show that the Flag which stands for peace and righteousness and human friendship all over the world is the flag of an Empire which is prepared, if some difficulty causes some great nation to cross our track, to emulate the deeds of our noble ancestors who gave us these glorious possessions. The glory of the conquests by which we annexed country after country, was one of brute force. For what does the Flag stand to-day in all these conquered territories, from the strongest down to the weakest race all over the British Empire? Does it not stand for justice, for the protection of life and liberty, for the protection of things dearer than life—the virtue of the homes of the British Empire? (Applause) In the farthest territory, in the darkest forest, an act of oppression may sometimes be committed by a representative of British power; but there is a "whispering gallery" in that glorious house at Westminster, there is a whispering gallery in which the faintest cry of the weakest can be heard, in which the whole life and conscience of the British nation can be successfully invoked in order to do justice against even the highest in the land. (Applause)

Now, this is the Empire to which we belong. If there is one worth fighting for, is it not this? I don't appeal to the people of Australia on sentimental grounds, nor do they act on these altogether. I justify our standing by the Empire as an act of the plainest self-interest and advantage. I know that here I am addressing men of position, men who may have risen from the masses, but are now perhaps becoming more and more identified with the wealthiest classes of the community; but I have in mind the masses of British Canada and the masses of French Canada, down to the poorest and humblest, and I say the masses of Canada and the masses of Australia cannot have a dearer, better interest than that of seeing the flag of our own race flying. If there are people in the world who should stand by the British flag, it is the people who belong to a different race, and who find beneath the British flag a sublime generosity which they never felt at home. I raise no point of delicacy in referring to this; I speak with no bated breath. If there is a man in the Empire who should stand by it, it is the French-Canadian and the Dutch-Boer of South Africa. What Empire ever allowed a nationality within its Imperial nationality to exist and flourish? No other Empire but that of Great Britain? (Applause)

Now, we can all talk of the spread of education. There was a time when Englishmen could talk, while battles were being fought, and could gradually become licked into shape in the course of ten or twenty years by their enemies. That was an anxious time for Providence. Providence has had to take us in hand always, in our times of emergency, and save us from our own mistakes and our own quarrels. Now, the time has come to give Providence a rest. (Laughter) The time has come to divert the eye of faith, noble as it is, from the contemplation of the beauties of the heavens down to the solid earnestness of honest work. We have done that in Australia. Our first line of defence, there as here, and our last line of defence, too, is on the seas,—the seas that used to divide nations but now unite them as no railway system ever could. You can send goods from London to Sydney, twelve thousand miles, at half the rate that you would pay from London to Inverness by rail. When you get on the canals, don't you find it a little easier than when you are on the railway line? Well, in a night the basis of this Empire might be destroyed never to be restored. One overwhelming disaster in one sharp engagement, twenty-four hours after war was declared, might destroy our magnificent naval power never to be restored again. If those fleets of England disappeared from the earth, do you think we would be allowed to build any more fleets afterwards? It is now or never if we wish to guarantee the defence of our Empire. We hope the ships will never fire a shot in anger; we hope the ambition of foreign nations will never cause us to shed blood; and we know it is cheaper to make the flag supreme on the outskirts of the world than it is to build battleships when they are no longer of any use. There is one advantage about this mad race of armaments, and it is this, that the nations that are spending so much money in preparing for sham fights have nothing left for a real war.

I spoke of a mad race of armaments. May I suggest to you that that is not the way in which you can describe the preparations of the British Empire for defence. Just look for the moment at the position of those forty-five millions of men, women, and children in our ancestral home. If the command of the sea were taken from them, one hundred thousand of the veteran soldiers defending the British Isles, instead of being a source of strength, instead of insuring the integrity of the Empire, would add to the horrible anxieties of those who had to find food for the people of the United Kingdom. It is for the purpose of fighting for bread, fighting for a safe market to feed possible starving millions in a time of war, that these battleships are wanted.

And may I suggest that British commerce is a commerce which does not belong altogether to itself. How much does Canada, how much does Australia, owe to the markets of England and Scotland? Even that is not a question that I want to dilate on. I cannot tell you how much I admire the noble generosity of Canada in being the first to establish a splendid system of preference to the Mother Country. We have followed your example. You know I cannot help thinking that there is a short cut to the blessings of preference and reciprocity and buying and selling within the Empire. There is a very short cut if you will only try it. You may try to persuade the British people to pass tariffs, or you may never persuade them, but there is one thing we can all do in Britain and Canada and Australia and South Africa and New Zealand, and we need not wait for an Act of Parliament to compel us,—we can in our own daily purchases across the shop counters of the world have preference and have reciprocity, and are we of that stuff that we have got to compel ourselves to do it? (Applause) That is why I believe in an Empire trade mark—a mark showing outside, made in the British Empire, made in Canada, or Australia, or New Zealand, or British South Africa, and then inside the trade mark of the individual firm whose production it is. I am a fiscal heretic here; but always, when in Australia, I pay twice as much for an Australian article as for an English one; I can afford it. It is a grand thing to be patriotic when you can afford it; but I say give a preference, first to the village in which you live; next, to your Province; next, to your Dominion; and next, to the Old Country. Let us put it wider; next, to the rest of the British Empire. I do hope that politicians can be relieved of the everlasting agitation for reciprocity and preference for the whole of the loyal British units of the Empire.

It takes two years to build a battleship. I don't know how many years you have been talking about it. (Laughter) It takes two years to build one after you flash the order across the seas, and if I were a citizen of Canada instead of a stranger, I tell you what I would like to see done as a loyal Canadian, as a lover of my race and of my Empire, and as a man who sees the storm signals in the sky. I will tell you what I would do. I would flash an order that would thrill the world and arouse every Britisher wherever he is, an order for several battleships, and during the two years they were building, I would find out where I was going to put them. (Loud applause)

There is one thing that I admire more than another about the people of the British Isles—and mind you we

Canadians and Australians can say something for the people of the Mother Land which they cannot well say for themselves. Did you ever see a grander spectacle of generosity, self respect, and justifiable pride than the people of Great Britain display, staggering under the weight of this gigantic Empire? Do they come to you for help? (Voices—No, no) Do they come to Australia for help? No. They despise an appeal to your charity. If help is to come to them, it must come from the sons of the old home who want to stand by the blood that runs in the veins of Britishers and Canadians. (Applause)

I won't refer to what we in Australia have done. We are only twelve years old as a federation. I believe you are forty-five. I won't dwell upon what we have done. I think you know what it is. We may be right or wrong in having our ships as an Australian fleet unit. You are much nearer England. If you had your ships in your own waters, and if young Canadians were called on to listen to that call of the sea which is in the blood and has made us what we are—but it is not for me to decide your action, that is for you. What I want to say is this, I know the people of Canada well enough to believe that once they see the gravity of the situation, they will act with a spirit worthy of their own high character. You know these great young countries have passed through the periods of infancy and childhood. The people in the old land have stood by the cradle, they have stood by our years of youth. They have protected us, and they have given us these magnificent lands to begin with. They have given us that right to manage our own affairs which was born in England centuries ago. They have treated us in a way that no Imperial power ever treated a weaker dependency. We have heard some talk of Rome, as if the destiny of Great Britain were to describe a decline like the decline and fall of Rome; but I would like to point this out, that the power of Rome was founded upon oppression, upon the trampling down of conquered races. The highest ideal of an Imperial triumph in the days of Rome was to drag the conquered chieftains at the chariot wheels to be exposed to the jibes and sneers of the populace in the streets. That is not the spirit in which the British Empire rules. If a referendum were taken in any part of the British Dominions to-morrow, whether the people there would rather belong to Great Britain or some other power, you know that right through the Empire one universal reply would come. We may want this or we may want that from the British Government, but we don't want to change our flag.

Will you pardon me for having taken up so much of your time. There is one most important point which I ask you to allow me to refer to. The Ministers of Canada have recently visited, as you know, the Mother Country. I had the privilege of being in England at the time they were there, and I cannot express to you fully the magnificent reception which the Canadian Ministers received. I cannot adequately express to you the favourable impression which they made in the hour of their triumph. But also I cannot forget Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I think in public life we are too apt to forget the old public servants. I had the honour of being associated with him, and I say Canada is happy in having such a Prime Minister as Mr. Borden, and she is happy in having another great leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The Ministers attracted great attention by suggestions as to a change, a radical change, in the constitution of the British Empire. Well, it will take years to make a change, if a change is advisable, and I know that it is too serious a task to be rushed. The object is to promote the harmony and the strength of the British Empire. I wait, with due respect, for the revelation of the more than mortal wisdom which will be displayed when some of our friends submit a scheme for a new Imperial Parliament for our kind consideration. Let us remember what the British Empire is. Canada is not the British Empire, Australia is not the British Empire, Great Britain is not the British Empire, nor New Zealand, nor the British in South Africa. When you have counted them all you are three hundred and sixty million short of the people who with you constitute the British Empire. When you re-cast your Parliament, a truly Imperial Parliament, is there to be no one there to represent the interests of these three hundred and sixty million of His Majesty's subjects? Are we who, for good reasons, are anxious to preserve our racial integrity, to discourage the millions of India from coming here or coming to Australia? Would we sit happily in an Imperial Parliament dealing with them, dealing with their concerns?

Then, if it is to be a Parliament it will soon have party fights. One of the grandest things about these dependencies is that we are so busy quarrelling among ourselves that we have no time to abuse the Mother Country. Your Federal Parliament is the safety valve for the Empire. I don't know what the Imperial Parliament would be like. I hope some day some grand devices will be arrived at. You know the people over the border—I don't know how many years ago—were taxed by the British Parliament in a way which they did not like, with results which we did not like. Let us suppose that in the Imperial Parliament you have sixty members, one for each million of the British race. You would have six, or seven, or eight; we would have four or five. Supposing the six or seven were enamoured with a system of taxation which might not perhaps commend itself to Australia, and suppose the five Australians, with the whole Australian people behind them, were strongly opposed to that system, would it promote the harmony of the British Empire, if the Imperial tax-gatherer enforced upon Australia that tax? Would not we get dangerously near the disasters from which the Empire has already escaped? I have only mentioned these little things; these are the little conundrums I want you to consider.

You know in the heavens, where there are no Acts of Parliament, you see from age to age majestic orbs revolving around the central sun peacefully, harmoniously, each describing its own appointed orbit with marvellous certainty. I cannot say what the law of gravitation is, which binds us in the Imperial Governments to the central sun, the British Nation, and I cannot very well say what it is that makes this marvellous peace and order among all these nations and races and creeds and countries; but I can not help recalling that one of the American poets said something about hitching a wagon to a star! If you could do it, I would like you to tell me what would become of the wagon. Now, if some one can describe a system by which, when these majestic orbs of the British Empire are all together, they will be more harmonious and more devoted to each other than they now are, I will give them my apostolic blessing. But, whilst we are prepared to listen to the proposals of high and patriotic men of great intelligence who think we can do better in the future for the Empire, do not let us forget the pressing necessities of to-day. Do not let us forget that first we have to maintain intact this Empire before we can reform its political constitution, and I feel sure that just as the children of the old home in distant Australia have loyally and generously responded, not to the begging petition of the parent, but to their own sense of right and filial affection in what they have done, so this great people of Canada will show to the world that they are determined to stand, as they always have, the darker the clouds the more firmly determined to stand, shoulder to shoulder when the King calls. (Applause)

IMPERIAL CO-OPERATION IN DEFENCE AND TRADE

An Address by MR. H. PAGE CROFT, M.P., Unionist Member for Christchurch, before the Empire Club of Canada, on September 12, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I need hardly say that it is a very great privilege for me to have the opportunity for the first time of addressing a representative audience in this great Dominion. If I had an hour, I should like to speak for three quarters of it upon my impressions formed in my very short experience since I arrived, I can only tell you, gentlemen, that it would be difficult for me to do justice to my feelings in that time, and I think you will realize, as I certainly do, that business is far too pressing to discuss such a question now. I want rather to say just a few words, not about your affairs or our affairs in Great Britain, but our affairs as a family of the British Empire. (Hear, hear)

First, may I say this, that I am proud to think that there are some thirty or forty colleagues of mine who have recently been visiting, in the short time that is permitted us, this great Dominion, and who are endeavouring to acquaint themselves with the problems which confront you. I can only say that I do hope that this means, that as communication becomes more easy we will get to know each other better, and perhaps the Canadian opinion of the Englishman will be no longer guided by the remittance man, and our opinion of the Canadian no longer guided by those who have perhaps in the past fled your country because you did not regard them as desirable citizens. (Laughter)

I think I can truthfully say that there is a very great awakening in the British Isles as to the true meaning of Empire. Recent events, the elections in this country, and your Premier's visit have, if I may say so, entirely altered the outlook of the average British citizen upon Canadian affairs. They have created an interest and affection, which I believe neither time nor stress will obliterate. World events are rapidly causing every thinking man in the British Empire to come to the conclusion that it is time that the British peoples come together, think together, act together, trade together and, if necessary, fight together for our own ends.

I think you will all agree with me that man-power is now the controlling factor in the world and is a thing which has to be considered, and with our emigration overtaking our birth rate, as it is in the Mother Country, we cannot hope to stand alone in the future, and neither can, I believe, the Dominion of Canada, or the Commonwealth of Australia, or the Union of South Africa stand alone against the union of nations which has taken place; but if the parts of the Empire, while retaining their complete freedom and autonomy, come together in Council, with good understanding, with a common control of matters regarding foreign affairs and defence and trade, then I believe that we can truly say that the British, standing together, can resist any economic or military pressure from any rivals, or any group of rivals, which they may meet in the days to come. The surest way to federation in my belief—and I make no bones about it, and I hope and pray for the day when federation may come,—is through partnership in trade. (Hear, hear) It seems to me the greatest binder will be community of interests and, once you have that, there will be a common desire for defence and, once you have that, it will be imperative that you shall have common control of that defence in which all parts join.

The Dominions have in the past realized this more keenly than we at home, and we can never forget, those of us who are fighting the Imperial battle at home, that it was the Dominion of Canada which first extended a trade preference to the other parts of the Empire. Neither are we likely to disregard the fact that that preference has meant that our trade with the Dominion of Canada has been multiplied by four since it was introduced. (Applause) Other Dominions have followed, and with the difficulties of time and space we have found the enormous advantages of trade preference. To-day we are proud to think that Australia, with four and a half millions of people and thirteen thousand miles from the Mother Country, is buying more manufactured goods from us than the great German Empire with sixty-five millions of people at our very gates.

But now we fully realize that it is our turn in the Mother Country to move in answer to this policy which has been adopted in the Dominion, nor will we fail. I believe the enthusiasm of the average elector in the British Isles for the policy of Imperial preference is in a very few years and, as I think, months, going to sweep all before it, and there will be a response from over seas to you for what you have done in the past which I believe will delight all British citizens in whatever part of the Empire they may dwell; and let me say in this connection how pleased I am to see around this table those who have helped the Imperial mission in Great Britain. Here is Colonel Denison who has so frequently assisted us by encouraging visitors to come and talk here. Here is Mr. Cockshutt who put me into Parliament. Then I see in this room my old friend Mr. Wright who so successfully assisted us in Midlothian not so many years ago. I only hope it means that the bond of union between the Imperial men and the Empire Club will be sustained, and that we shall have further visits of the same most useful character.

May I speak frankly as one member of a family, as I think that members of a family should always speak, to another. We in Great Britain at the present moment are doing our best for, and many of us have absolutely staked our political reputation on this policy of Empire union and Empire consolidation; but we want your moral support and, if you believe that that policy is a good policy, it is your affair just as much as ours, and we do ask you Canadians to speak out plainly and without reserve upon this all-important question. I think the time has gone by when we should treat one another rather like French dancing masters bowing across the Atlantic, and yet hesitating to say what is for the good of all. I think the time has come when straight talking will clear the air, and we shall know better where we stand. Now, we have recently seen, as a result, as I said, of the reciprocity elections and Mr. Borden's visit, a greater confidence on the part of the Mother Country in all things Canadian, and with the assistance of your most able Canadian Finance Minister in London—of course I refer to Mr. Lloyd George,—(Laughter)—we have seen an enormous increase of investment in this country, and a desire among all our fellow-countrymen at home to have some stake in this country. We have also seen the enormous increase of emigration to your shores because of the opinion of those who have come here that they find the best traditions under which they have been reared and, at the same time, an opportunity of rebirth in this land among the honest and the strong. (Applause)

I am not a shy person, and I am going to practise what I preached just now. I am going to ask you, you who have so much influence in the affairs of this great Dominion, to re-affirm your trade policy and to tell us definitely that you maintain that policy, that you still believe in the policy of granting preference for preference; and it is my honest opinion that the more expression you give to those ideas the more amply are you going to be repaid by having the best that the Mother Country can give in order to help you to raise your country to the glorious destiny which awaits you. (Applause)

But if this great emigration is going to keep on at the present rate from the Mother Country, if the rate for the last three months is continued, it will have overtaken the birth rate, and I would ask you what of the women who are left behind? We are suffering in the United Kingdom from an excess of women. (Laughter) I did not say excessive women, because I always refer to militant people with a great deal of respect, but the fact remains that we have one million four hundred thousand more women in the Mother Country than we have men. You are suffering from a contrary complaint. I have read, as carefully as I can, Canadian history, and it seems to me that Canada never lacks courage in big questions. If it is not very impertinent for a young and inexperienced person from over seas to make a suggestion, I would urge that you use your influence to persuade your statesmen to endeavour to grapple with the question of organized female emigration to this country. I offer this suggestion most seriously, because I believe it is a great problem. I believe it would pay the Dominion of Canada, and I believe it would pay the Empire as a whole, if necessary, to pay the fares for picked and selected women, and to take them out to your more distant cities where there is such an excess of the inferior sex. (Laughter) This is a big question, but it seems to me as an outside observer with the very little knowledge I have, that if you are going to keep your trees you must plant, if you are going to keep your fish in your rivers and lakes you must preserve, and if your race is going to prosper you must see to it that you encourage to your shores women of the best kind who will be a credit to your country, and who will, after all, do something towards helping out the problems of the future. I cannot help thinking that the problem is one which should exercise the mind of everybody, and I believe the more the question is gone into the more you will realize that possibly I was not so impertinent as I seemed when I made the suggestion at this gathering to-day.

I said just now that trade co-operation, I believed, was the best road to ultimate federation, and that common defence resulted from co-operation in trade. This brings me to the naval question. We cannot hide facts, and no one can deny that for the first time in modern history the fleet of the British Empire is seriously challenged and that, at the present rate of building by a certain rival power, our certain victory in the near future will become a doubtful success. Now, we are not on our knees to the people of Canada, and we do not in any way beg you to help us, but we state the truth when we tell you that the burden which we are bearing is falling very heavily upon all classes of people in the Old Country; but if you feel in the Dominion of Canada that you can not help us it will make no difference to us; we will spend our last penny in taxation, because we realize that in this question is wrapped up our whole existence, our life, and we know that the fleet is our all in all. But although we are not praying to you for your help, at the same time we would suggest that those in Canada, far from the North Sea, who state that there is no danger and that this question is a bogey, are mistaken, and we would say that, in our opinion, we believe they are either blind to the fact or are the enemies of patriotism; and we do declare that our dangers are your dangers, (hear, hear) and that the fate of Quebec or Ontario is bound up just as much with the British fleet as is the fate of Scotland or Wales on the other side of the Atlantic. I have seen it suggested in the newspapers since I have been on this side that armaments are no affairs of Canada; but, gentlemen, I suggest that it is impossible for you to develop the arts of peace and to build your great canals and railways unless you feel and know that you are sheltered under the wing of your fleet and our fleet, which alone makes your way secure. (Hear, hear)

We are told by certain gentlemen that the German peril is no peril, that it is a bogey. Personally I do not call it a peril, but I call it an actual fact. There is no particular hatred by the German people for the British nation, but there is a feeling which runs through every class of the German people that the destiny of the German nation is that she shall be Mistress of the Seas as well as the strongest military force upon land, and there is a feeling which will not down, and that is that the German people must expand. The same people who tell you in this country that the German question is a bogey immediately complete their perorations by telling you that Germany's only trouble is that she requires territory. They are answered by their own arguments. It is simply a question of expansion, and all I would suggest to those gentlemen is this, that if they believe it is a question of territory, who are the last people on the face of the earth that ought to take care to stand together, if it is not the British people who have the most sparsely populated lands on the face of the earth's surface? (Applause) I believe there is a general impression at home at the present time that there is only one way to stop this mad race for armaments, and that is that it shall be made perfectly clear that the fleet supremacy is not the affair of the little Islands in the North Sea alone, but that it is the affair of all the nations of the British people throughout the world who desire not only to have peace, freedom, and security, but who are determined to preserve these blessings and will pledge themselves in union to maintain them.

There is one more aspect of the naval question, and then I have finished. War at the present time is quite a different thing to what it was a few years ago. In August of last year we were undoubtedly right on the verge of war for several hours. In fact no one who knew anything about the situation could tell whether the morrow was going to bring peace or battle. Thank God that war was averted, as I believe, by the strength of the British Imperial Fleet. But supposing that what was so near had happened? Even supposing the British fleet had been victorious, naval experts will bear me out when I say, that if there is anything like an equality of fleets contending, even the victorious navy will lose from one quarter to one half of its effective fighting ships for future use. Therefore, even if we had come out of that struggle victorious, as I believe we should have done, the supremacy of the seas would have been taken from the British and would have been handed over to the United States, and that is, I say, a position which no man, even if he is more commercial than patriotic, would care to see,—if he really sees how absolutely inter-dependent are the questions of defence and trade in this year 1912. Therefore, whatever way we can look at it, as different members of a great family we must agree that it is better to trade with those who build dreadnoughts for us rather than with those who build dreadnoughts against us. (Applause) We have been led to understand that this great Dominion may shortly decide to share in the naval burden. If that is so, I can only tell you that it will arouse an affectionate response among those who dwell on the other side of the Atlantic, an affectionate response of a value which no man can estimate, because it will be the love of a brother shown for a brother in a brotherly way, and I believe you will find that the feeling which will be expressed in the Mother Country will be worth much to you in this Great Dominion.

I had the great pleasure in the House of Commons of extracting from the First Lord of the Admiralty his first speech on naval defence of the Empire, that is to say from the point of view of Imperial co-operation, and I remember telling him on that occasion what I believed the Dominions were prepared to do if the British Government told the statesmen of the Dominions frankly what was the apparent situation and took them into its confidence in regard to foreign affairs; and I remember on that occasion I suggested that in a five-year programme I did not believe that the Canadian people would think it was unreasonable that they should contribute four dreadnought cruisers—extended over five years—and I remember making a similar suggestion in regard to the other Dominions. The First Lord of the Admiralty agreed with every word I said, including what I said with regard to the control. I said, if the Dominion of Canada, or any other Dominion, was going to give ships, we had arrived at the time when it must be absolutely understood that the Dominion must share in the control if they were going to contribute generously to the Imperial Fleet. He agreed, and in a forty minutes' reply his only criticism of what I said was that he feared the Honourable Gentleman was far too optimistic. Well, I hope that I was not much too optimistic, and I hope there may be something done in that direction. But one thing, do please, gentlemen, understand, and that is there is no man of any party at home who does not welcome the idea that those who contribute to the Imperial whole shall share in the control and take part in its direction. (Applause)

Now, in conclusion, may I say how extremely grateful I am to you for having given me this privilege. I can only tell you this, that the policy of Imperial union appeals to those who act with me in the Imperial mission, and indeed to every member of my party in Great Britain, with irresistible force. Some of us, I think, can truly say we have entered politics solely for this reason. We have dedicated our lives to this policy, and we intend to prosecute it fearlessly, believing that our cause is so good that it is absolutely irresistible. I can only say that my friends over seas would ask me to tell you that it is no flabby hand which we extend to you now. We appreciate the expressions of brotherhood and fraternity brought to us by Mr. Borden, and there is a response in every British heart over seas, and we will extend to you the steady grip of a brother whenever you decide to become one with us in this policy. I can only say that, in my opinion, if the election in the Old Country came to-morrow, you would find the majority of the men there ready to meet you and to do everything they could to establish a thorough union between the various parts of the Empire. I thank you, gentlemen. (Applause)

IMPERIAL TRADE AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE

An Address by the RIGHT HONOURABLE WALTER H. LONG, M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, on September 26, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I have to thank your Lordship for your kindly introduction of myself, and I have to thank you gentlemen for the warmth and the heartiness of your reception. I believe that his Lordship, in the few sentences in which he was good enough to commend me to you, said all that I could desire, all that any loyal citizen of this country could desire, to be said on his behalf, when he told you that I had set before me as the object of the speech which I have been called upon to make, the presentment to my fellow-citizens in this part of the Empire of what I conceive to be the great Imperial issues with which we are now faced. Before I proceed to say a few words to you on this great and most engrossing topic, will you forgive me, if I remark in passing, with what profound regret I learned on my arrival in Toronto this morning of the death of a most distinguished Canadian statesman, the late Sir Richard Cartwright. The political views which the late statesman held were those to which I have been all my life entirely opposed, but friend and foe meet over his grave remembering that he set for himself a high standard of public and private life, that he succeeded beyond measure in attaining to that standard, and to-day we all feel that Canada and the Empire are the richer in that he lived and are the poorer in that he has died. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, the name of your Club inspires one with the desire to say something that shall help on the objects for which it has been created. It is one of those topics which brings to the lips such a plethora of words that it is difficult to confine one's self to any reasonable limit in discoursing upon the past, the present, and the future of the British Empire.

As I look back, a humble citizen, at the history of my country I cannot help believing that, in the momentous years which filled up the greater part of the reign of that illustrious sovereign Queen Victoria, there were two men in different parts of the Empire who, we realize now probably more even than we did when they lived, were working for the same object, were struggling to lead their fellow-countrymen in the same direction,—two men whose whole lives were given to this work, and who hardly lived to see the full completion of their efforts. I mention these two names in no party or political sense. In the Mother Land, the man I am thinking of is the late Lord Beaconsfield, better known as Benjamin Disraeli. And why do I specially refer to him? It is for this reason, that when Imperial ideas, Imperial conceptions, and Imperial progress were not as popular as they are now, Disraeli gave his whole effort to teach his countrymen that they had a great Imperial future before them; and he might have enjoyed more of the sweets of office, might have been longer in political power, if he had consented to subordinate imperialism to domestic and, comparatively speaking, minor questions. (Hear, hear)

The second name that occurs to me is that of the late Sir John A. Macdonald. (Applause) Like Disraeli, Sir John A. Macdonald was a great Imperial statesman. He, in his way, was working for the same object and the same result that Disraeli was working for in Great Britain. Yet it was inevitable that the plan and policy of Sir John Macdonald should differ materially from the plan and policy of Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Disraeli saw the possibilities of an Empire centred in the Mother Land and surrounded by other growing nations which one day must be all powerful. He saw, with a clearer vision than other men of his time, the absolute necessity of making the Empire secure, and he spent many years of his life in elaborating a policy by which our great Empire of India should be placed in the position in which, largely thanks to his statesmanship, she is to-day, of comparative immunity from outside attack. Sir John Macdonald had other work to do. Can those who read the luminous pages in which his life is written fail to realize that through that great and active mind there must have passed day by day and hour by hour vast Imperial conceptions to which he would have been very glad to give voice had he thought it right to do so. But he was a great enough statesman to see that, before the Dominion to which he was so loyal and devoted a servant could play her part properly in the great concourse of nations which make up the Empire, she must be complete in herself, and strong; and he laid well and truly the foundations of that magnificent prosperity in which you and the other citizens of the Empire rejoice to-day, and which enables Canada in this critical moment of our history to speak as a powerful nation prepared to take her part with the rest of the Empire and meet the enemy in the gate. (Applause)

I have striven to put before those whom I have had the honour to address the necessities of what I believe to be the two great Imperial movements of the moment. They are, in my humble opinion, indissolubly connected; they are bound up together so closely that the one cannot be approached or dealt with without approaching and dealing with the other. They are inter-dependent, and the wise solution of the problem which they present means the future permanent greatness of the Empire to which we belong. They are Imperial trade and Imperial defence. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, it is a common incident in public speaking for men to refer to the great empires of the past, and to ask whether the fate of our Empire is likely to be similar to the fate which overtook them. I am no pessimist. I realize that there are difficulties to be faced. I realize that there are problems of great magnitude to be solved, but I believe in my race; I believe in the people of the Empire to which I belong, and I have no fear that they will shirk the burden; I have no fear that they will not find a solution for the difficulty. But there is this great difference between our Empire and any other Empire which the world has ever known. Other empires have depended on their outside possessions, upon that which came to them by conquest, and they have tried to keep it by the sword. We have adopted other methods, and we, therefore, are in a position to-day in which they never stood. The Empire of to-day is not an Empire of subjugated races in whose minds and hearts there rankles a feeling of dissatisfaction and of indignities suffered and injustices done. Our Empire is a collection of free self-governing communities, and the help they bring to the Mother Land is not the tribute which is commanded of them, but a free-will offering which they present with all their heart and both their hands. Your Government has been considering, in communication with the Government at home, the great question of Imperial defence as regards the navy. I have no doubt or fear myself that when your Government sees fit to make its announcement it will be one which will command the support of all loyal Canadians and the admiration of all people in other parts of the Empire, and will also awaken a sensation not altogether of satisfaction in the hearts and minds of those who are looking, at the present moment, with jealous eyes at the prosperity and greatness of the British Empire. (Applause)

Defence you must have if you are to have great trade. If you stop for one moment to consider the history of the British Empire, does it not all centre in the navy and the permanency of our naval forces? Two great moments alone will I refer to in the history of the British Empire. There was a time when Philip of Spain threatened the power of England, and what stopped him? The British Navy. There was a time when Napoleon threatened the very existence of England, and what stopped him? The power and supremacy of the British Navy. As it was then, so it must be to-day. Even though the conditions are somewhat altered, and may vary possibly in great degree to-day, still, now as then, we must depend upon the supremacy of our navy; and it is because we realize this great fact that we welcome as we do, heartily and thankfully, the co-operation of our great self-governing Dominions all over the world. I have said that this question, our supremacy at sea, is indissolubly bound up with Imperial trade,—Imperial trade which means that there shall be some preferential arrangement adopted between the Mother Country and her Overseas Dominions in order that each one may help the other, not only in self-defence and out of loyalty, but in self-protection, and in order that we may realize to the full the proud boast that the British Empire can not only defend herself, but that if need be she can feed herself and provide her people with all the necessaries that they require. (Applause)

Gentlemen, it is interesting to remember that but a short time ago this idea of Imperial preference held a very different position to that which it occupies now. I read the other day a most interesting article in the London *Times* from which I have extracted these very few words which, with your consent, I will read to you: "Twenty years ago the advocates of Imperial preference were the sport of the press, and the jest of the platform. To-day they speak with the authority of precedence and the significance of prophecy." Gentlemen, in these few pregnant words is told the whole story of the different position which Imperial trade occupies to-day to that which it occupied but a few years ago.

The President has reminded you that I have just returned from a tour through the glorious West of Canada, and I noticed in the newspapers, more than I have observed by conversation which I have been privileged to have with people of all classes whilst in the West, that it is believed in these western lands where the sea is remote and where ships are hardly understood by many of the residents, that the idea of the necessity for a great navy is misunderstood or is not appreciated. I confess—I cannot of course put my experience against the writers of these articles—but I confess that my experience pointed in a different direction. I discussed this question in the West with men of all classes, farmers who came in from the distant farms on which they are growing their corn and rearing their cattle, and I found no ignorance as to the navy, no doubt as to the needs of its supremacy. But none the less you and I, as practical men, know that we are often asked by those whose daily lives do not lead them into contact with navy matters, and whose lives are also so busy that they have not a moment in which to study these questions, what is the meaning and the value to us as farmers or traders of the maintenance of the Empire. I will only ask those who ever put this question to themselves to bear this in mind: Canada, thanks to the wisdom and public spirit of your statesmen and your merchants, has attained to a position of great power; she has a vast trade, a trade which is going to increase rapidly.

I am speaking, I doubt not, to many men who will laugh at a child in matters of this kind venturing to say a word upon them, but nevertheless I am going to ask this question and suggest that this is one of the questions that should be asked of those who wonder what is the value to them of a great navy. The question is this: What trade in the world, whether it be in corn or cattle, in steel or iron, can be carried on unless there be a sufficient and constant supply of money to feed the various channels which have to be fed in order that this trade may prosper and that the results of this trade may find their way into the markets of the world? You are developing in Canada not only your growing agricultural resources, but all through the Dominion you are discovering fresh, valuable possessions in mineral form; factories are springing up; and I doubt not that the time is very near when Canada will take her place among the other nations of the world in her great productive power, not only of agricultural and other articles which you now manufacture, but of many which hitherto have been unknown to your land. For all this, money must be available, and I ask any man of business, and I ask any farmer upon the distant prairie, to ask himself what would be the result upon his own individual earnings, upon his own individual prosperity, if he suddenly learned in the newspapers that there was a great European war in progress, and that Great Britain had not the power to protect her own people and to safeguard her own interests. That is what Empire means. That is the inalienable possession of every citizen of the Empire. If we realize that by trading the one with the other we can meet all our own needs and be independent of other lands, if we realize that these vast possessions of ours, this mighty growing trade that we possess, are all capable of destruction if our power of self-defence be not efficient and sufficient, then I think it will be admitted that I have not been guilty of mis-statement or exaggeration when I declare that these two great questions of Imperial defence and Imperial trade are closely knit together, are inter-dependent, are one. Every patriotic citizen will do his best to grapple with these questions and to understand them, and once they are understood, once they are fully comprehended, I, at least, have no doubt whatever as to the answer that my countrymen will make wherever they may be found in all parts of the inhabited world. (Applause)

Gentlemen, I know your excellent rule, and I am not going to offend against it to-day. Indeed I think it is one of the best rules that I have ever come across in the many institutions with which I have been acquainted during my life. You entertain your guests, you give them an opportunity in circumstances encouraging and inspiring to express their views, and if by some blunder of phrase or stupidity of sentence they offend against your susceptibilities you may rend them in private afterwards, but you receive them with courtesy at the time, and let them remain forever in ignorance of the fact that they have offended. I do not think I can have said anything that would offend the susceptibilities of the tenderest-minded politician among you, (hear, hear) but do not let me be misunderstood. Do not think, I beg of you, that these last words of mine are intended to be an apology. I have no apology to make for the language that I have used. I say that any man who is unwilling to consider these problems, any man who is unwilling to bear his share of this great Imperial burden is one for whom in these days of stress and trial we can have no use. In the British Empire there is room for all; in the British Empire there is yet opportunity for great development and for increasing prosperity, but there is no room within it for those who would consume the honey while they are unwilling to do their share of the work in the hive. (Applause) We have got to be constant in our labour; we have got to be persistent and proud in the discharge of our Imperial duties. What happens to-day is of little moment in your life or mine. What you and I do to-day, say, think, or perform, will very soon pass into oblivion, but one thing will remain above all others, and the historian of the future will have to answer the question—these men succeeded to a mighty heritage, what did they do with it? This is the question that you and I some time, when we turn our faces to the wall, will have to answer to ourselves. It is the question which the historian will ask of us, and for our own peace of mind, for our own credit, let our answer be one of which we shall be proud and which the historian will record with pride and gratitude, meaning, as it will, that we not only succeeded to a mighty possession, but that we have been trustees faithful and true to the end. (Applause)

HOW AND WHY IS CANADA BRITISH?

An Address by the Honourable William Renwick Riddell, L.H.D., LL.D., Justice, King's Bench Division, High Court of Justice, Ontario, before the Empire Club, on October 23, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

To those who, with me, believe the fact that Canada is British to be of the utmost importance, particularly for the future of the English-speaking world, the inquiry why and how she is so, will prove of absorbing interest.

No doubt, any conclusion arrived at as to the result had the actors in history or their circumstances been different, must be more or less conjectural—still I shall venture to give you my views as to the underlying causes of this miracle of the centuries.

In the occurrences which took place and the result, many will see the working of an over-ruling Providence —and even those who see but blind chance will be compelled to admit the marvel of the history.

What fixed the destiny of Canada was the difference between her people and the people to the south of her.

Why the English adventurers, after they had discovered Newfoundland and Labrador, left to the French all the valuable and enticing lands on either side of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf, will never, perhaps, be fully explained.

But we do know that after the second voyage—in 1517 —of the Cabots, when they got as far north as the mouth of the Hudson Straits in their search for a route to India and Cipango, the English in great measure confined their attention to the Atlantic Coast which, indeed, the Cabots had already explored from Cape Breton to South Carolina. They selected what is now the territory of the United States for settlement, leaving to Spain and Portugal the land further south, to France that further north. Cortez conquered Mexico, Balboa crossed the Isthmus to Panama, Pizarro followed him and subdued Peru, Cabral discovered Brazil, and the Portuguese settled there in the first permanent colony of any European State. The English privateers and buccaneers harried the Spanish and Portuguese, robbed and murdered, but did not attempt to occupy their territory by permanent settlers.

So to the north Frobisher and Davis, Baffin, Fox, and James risked their lives in the attempt to find a North-West passage; but they neither were seeking immediate profit in gold or gems nor a favourable spot for settlement, but the way to markets for English manufactures—and incidentally the glory of the English flag.

Raleigh and Grenville took possession of Virginia toward the end of the 16th century; Massachusetts was chartered in 1629, and Boston founded the following year; Connecticut was settled a few years later (in 1633), and Maryland at the same time; Pennsylvania in 1680. With the exception of Lord Baltimore's settlement in Maryland, these were strongly Protestant communities, and all without exception were English in feeling and sentiment.

But all this time the French were building up a strong French and Catholic colony in what is now Quebec—a colony as different as possible from those to the south. And both the strength and the difference were needed against the time of the great division of the English-speaking peoples.

The French were not allowed to trespass upon the territory which the English had fixed upon as their own.

In 1613 Saussaye led a French expedition which intended to make a settlement to the south of territory already reduced into their possession. They made their way to Mount Desert in Maine, and there founded a colony, St. Sauveur, at what is still called Frenchman's Bay. But even when building their first cabins and turning the first sod, they were set upon by Samuel Argall, half hero and half pirate, who had been sent north from Virginia to clear the coast of intruders. The French ship was destroyed, the settlement laid waste, and while some of the settlers were taken by the English Captain in chains to Virginia, fifteen were set adrift upon the wild Atlantic in an open boat. St. Croix and Port Royal were also pillaged and destroyed, and when Argall was on his way home, the Dutchmen who had settled in Manhattan were warned by him to consider themselves subjects of the King of England. They hauled down the Dutch flag and spread the English colours to the breeze —till he got out of sight.

A little later the ambition or the injured vanity of a royal favourite brought on a war which threatened to make Canada English before its time. Urged by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, Charles I made war on France. Some say that, deputed to bring the young Queen Henrietta Maria to England, Buckingham had made himself conspicuous by his splendour, even going so far as to make love to the Queen of France. He was repulsed, and it is said he then threw all his influence in favour of war.

Although Bluff King Hal, Henry VIII, had founded the English navy, at this time there were few royal ships; but a Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed in London by private persons to seize French and Spanish ships, and that Company obtained a patent from Charles I to establish plantations on the shores of the River St. Lawrence. The Company fitted out a fleet of three ships of war and placed it under the command of David Kirke, who sailed for the St. Lawrence in 1628.

In the summer of 1629, the Englishmen appeared before Quebec. The gallant Champlain, then in command, had but little ammunition, less provisions, and a garrison of only a few half-starved men. He could do nothing but surrender.

Quebec—and that implied Canada—remained English for only three years. Champlain did not cease urging the French Court to demand back his beloved Nouvelle France, and Cardinal Richelieu no doubt felt that by the loss of the American colony France had lost prestige. Accordingly, when the terms of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye came to be discussed, the restoration of Canada was insisted upon. Charles yielded for a reason which long baffled the inquiry of historians and which became manifest only the other day from a letter discovered in the British Museum by the former Canadian Archivist, Mr. Brymner. Half of Henrietta Maria's dowry had been left unpaid; the King, Stuart-like, cared nothing for the glory and honour of his country in comparison with pecuniary benefit to himself—and it was to secure the payment of this money that Charles agreed to cede Quebec to its former masters. Disregarding the claims of Kirke and the Merchant Adventurers, he seems to have gone so far as to sequestrate not only the furs taken in Quebec at its capture but also those obtained by trading at Quebec and Tadoussac.

Some historians, English and Canadian, regret the loss of Quebec to England in 1632; a regret I do not share. In my view, had Canada remained under the English flag in the then condition of her population, few and sparsely settled, she would have been filled by English immigrants and not French—her condition would have differed in no respect from that of the English colonies to the South—and when the time came, as in the existing conception of colonial government it must needs come, for the colonies to repudiate the rule of a King and Parliament beyond the sea, Canada would have made common cause with the thirteen colonies. That was not to be—Canada to fulfil her high destiny must necessarily remain French for a time.

The time had come to get rid of all but the two nations in the northern part of the Continent. The Dutch at Manhattan at the mouth of the Hudson, notwithstanding the warning of Argall, had continued to fly the flag of the Netherlands; they had spread into New Jersey and on the Delaware displaced the Swedes; but in 1664, Admiral Lawson and Colonel Nicolls took possession of New Amsterdam which then became, as it has ever since continued, New York—and except for a couple of years, 1673-4, when the Dutch rule was again established, New York remained English and British until the American Revolution. The Spaniards further south were then negligible, and the English and French divided between them the Continent of North America, north of Mexico.

And whether the mother countries were at war or peace, with but little interruption the colonies carried on a kind of war—*petite guerre*—the Englishmen and Frenchman, if they did not themselves carry the musket, each supplied his Indian with arms and ammunition to commit havoc on the settlements of the other. Perhaps the French were the worst, for captives were delivered over to the mercy of the savage and his tender mercies were cruel.* Hundreds of English settlers were slain and scalped, and scores of women met an even worse fate. I have elsewhere said: "In the decade, 1680-1690, both English and Dutch in New York endeavoured by presents, and especially by furnishing gratis guns, powder, and lead, to induce the Iroquois to war against the French—and it was only the view of the Iroquois that it would be better first of all to destroy the Christian Indians, allies of the French-Canadians, that saved New France from a most devastating and horrible warfare at that time. The subjects of James II hesitated themselves to attack the subjects of his French friend; but they had no compunctions about doing by Indians what they would have liked to do in person. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se,* does not always apply internationally."

After the abdication of James II, when England reasserted herself and joined in the Grand Alliance of Continental powers against Louis XIV, the hand of the Canadian French appeared openly and without concealment. The projected attack on New York by way of Albany and the Hudson had indeed to be abandoned, but expeditions with a smaller number of men were made against the hated "Bastonnais"—the double purpose in view was to strike terror into the English and to blood their Indian allies and please them with plunder, human and otherwise. One expedition from Montreal, half French, half Indian, fell upon Schenectady; another from Three Rivers under Hertel ravaged the Village of Salmon Falls (Berwick) in New Hampshire; Portneuf led a third from Quebec, his victim being Fort Loyall, now Portland, Maine. Most of the inhabitants were tomahawked on the spot and the remainder carried off to a captivity—to many worse than death.

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* How the New Englander hated and at the same time feared the French-Canadian may perhaps be appreciated from a consideration of a passage in *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* by the Rev. Cotton Mather, published at Boston "in New England" in 1693. He says: "'Tis Beelzebub; 'tis he that is *the* Devil, and the rest are his *Angels* or his Souldiers. Think on vast Regiments of cruel and bloody *French Dragoons* with an Intendant over them, overrunning a pillaged neighbourhood, and you will think a little, what the Constitution among the *Devils* is." The French are not compared to Devils, but Devils to the French!!

On the other part, the Schuylers led invading forces into Canada in two successive years, killing and taking scalps of men and women, French and Indian.

Then the English colonies determined upon an invasion on a large and, it was hoped, decisive scale, and William Phips was sent to reduce Quebec. He had captured Port Royal, but Quebec proved too much for him. Indeed, it is undoubtedly true that brave as the English colonists were, for any such task it required the skill of regular soldiers from across the sea and also the unifying power of the Home Government to keep the several colonies in a uniform policy.

Canada was not to be conquered by colonists: Boston and New York were not to have anything to say in her government. She was to be kept French against the day when her hatred of the English colonist would become a tower of strength to the British cause.

Even the great effort in 1711 by Home and Colonial authorities failed. Admiral Hovenden Walker and General "Jack Hill" were sent by the Harley-St. John administration to drive the French out of Canada. A more disgraceful calamity had never befallen the British or the English arms than that which followed. We have to go forward to the incompetent leaders against the revolting colonists seventy years after, before we meet its like. I can find nothing in the past of Admiral Walker which can account for it—one can hardly say that his abstemiousness had anything to do with the disaster (for he is said, at least in his later years, to have drunk nothing but water and eaten nothing but vegetables). No doubt some would consider this rather suspicious amid a time of beef and beer.

But "Jack Hill" owed his appointment to a gross piece of favouritism. He was the brother of Abigail Hill, Lady Masham, the favourite of Queen Anne, and related to Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough. She says of him that he was no use as a soldier. It was through the influence of Mrs. Masham that Queen Anne was induced to insist on the appointment of Hill to the command; much against his will and his better judgment, Marlborough made him a General and, a little later, Harley gave him command of the army of the Quebec expedition.

Through stupidity and carelessness, transports were cast away on the rocky Northern shore of the St. Lawrence; eight vessels were wrecked and nearly a thousand soldiers drowned. Hill quailed before this misfortune and resolved to abandon the undertaking—the "society man" who shone at dinners and routs was no Wellington to try again and again; he bent before the first blast of misfortune, and Quebec was again saved for France and against the great day to come toward the end of the century.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 prevented any further attempts at that time on the part of Britain. Great Britain had been formed in 1707 by the Union of England and Scotland, and hereafter we must speak of British arms, etc.

For fifty years the French increased in Canada: increasing in numbers, they did not become more friendly to the American-English to the south of them. The time came at length for the British colours to fly on every French fort, post, and garrison; James Wolfe was commissioned to conquer Quebec; the almost perpetual state of warfare in the Lake Champlain district was at last to cease.

How the gentle, kindly, delicate Wolfe accomplished his allotted task all know: he died happy in the knowledge that Canada was British at last.

By the Treaty of Paris, 10th February, 1763, France renounced all claim to our country.

Shortly thereafter came what might have been foreseen, what had been foreseen by a few, and openly predicted by at least one. The Colonies to the south, relieved from the ever haunting fear of an attack from the north, began to take up more continuously and persistently their grievances against the Home Government. Arrogance and stupidity on the one hand, insolent demand on the other led to an open revolt; and unequalled incapacity on the part of the British generals led to unparalleled disaster to British arms and to humiliation which was tolerable only because it had been inflicted by English hands.

The revolting colonists did not forget Canada—they always desired that Canada should join them and so round off the Union. An address to the Canadians was printed in French and distributed amongst them, but while the Canadians had not yet quite reconciled themselves to British rule, Sir Guy Carleton kept them from open revolt by pursuing a policy diametrically opposite to that of the Royal governors in the other Colonies.

I am wholly persuaded that had it not been for the difference in language and creed, and for the traditional and hereditary enmity of the French toward the English colonists, even Carleton would have failed. Second, nevertheless, among our Canadian heroes—and second only to Wolfe—we should ever hold Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester.

American invasion was repelled by his energy and skill, coupled with the loyalty of the French-Canadian; and Benjamin Franklin and his colleagues failed in their attempt, when sent to Montreal for that purpose, to win the Canadian to the American cause.

There had been some discontent by reason of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 introducing the civil as well as the criminal law of England into Canada, but this was allayed by the Quebec Act of 1774 which re-introduced the old Canadian civil law, although it left the English criminal law in full force and effect. This the Canadian did not object to—cruel and barbarous as it was, in our more enlightened view, it was less so than his own.

It is true that the malcontents in the thirteen colonies described this Act as intended to establish in Canada "a religion that has deluged Britain in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world"—a description that came with good grace from the descendants of those who had come to America for liberty to worship God in their own way, from those who were themselves about to rebel! And there are even yet to be found those who look upon the Quebec Act as a tragedy. Whatever other effect it had, however, it certainly removed the grievances of the native Canadian, reconciled him, at least partially, to British rule, and helped to checkmate the attempt of the Americans to make Canadians as disloyal as themselves.

Upon terms of peace being arranged between Great Britain and her revolting Colonies, the United States agreed that Congress should earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of their respective States to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties belonging to real British subjects. Congress was also earnestly to recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all laws in the premises, so as to make them perfectly consistent with justice and equity, and with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. The United Empire Loyalists had left home and property that they might retain their allegiance and their flag: when they asked for the benefit of this provision, they not only did not get back their property which had been confiscated, but they were met with insult and contumely. It is only the other day that American historians came to speak with respect of these "Tories" who gave up all for the sake of their loyalty to the British flag—an example of loyalty almost without parallel in history, ancient or modern.

Upper Canada was settled to a great extent by these United Empire Loyalists and, accordingly, but from other causes, Upper Canada was as little attracted by the United States as her neighbour, Lower Canada.

It was little wonder then that, when the United States, with the intent and for the purpose of conquering Canada, launched the iniquitous war of 1812, the Upper Canadian, either a former American or the son of a former American, proved as determined a foe to the American as his fellow-subject in Lower Canada. The promises of the invader were discounted, his threats despised, his force resisted—how gloriously resisted, all Canadians know.

De Salaberry in the east at Chateauguay showed what could be done by French-Canadian valour and skill; in the west Sir Isaac Brock was everywhere, and his spirit pervaded everything and everybody. When he met a glorious death at Queenston Heights, it is not too much to say that, if Wolfe took Canada for Britain, and Carleton preserved it for her in the first great peril, in the second, Brock died having saved Canada for the Empire *in aeternum,* as against any outside foe or invader.

What was thereafter to be feared was not external aggression, but treason within—either treason against the Crown on the part of Canadians or treason against the rights of freeborn Canadians on the part of those who were charged with the government of Canada, whether in Westminster, or in Quebec, or in Toronto.

I have elsewhere traced the constitutional history of Canada: and here and now only point out that while arbitrary measures provoked temporary opposition, the main course has been a gradual giving way by the Home Government to the advancing democracy of the Canadian people, until now we have unlimited Home Rule, unlimited control over our own affairs. Canada, a daughter in her mother's house, is mistress in her own. And it has been that gradual yielding to the demands of the Colony which has kept us such enthusiastic supporters of British connection. We could not be British in the highest and truest sense, unless we were in every sense free men.

Open rebellion there was once—technically and legally treason—that was in 1837-1838. I do not intend to say much about that singular episode in Canadian history—perhaps the full story cannot be told, certainly it has not been told. It may even be that it should not yet be told, and I have no intention of attempting to tell it.

Speaking of the fiasco in Upper Canada, it is almost certain that very few of those who took part in that movement, even of those who took up arms, had any idea of an actual revolt—of active opposition in arms against the Crown. Some few of the leaders perhaps quite appreciated the gravity of their proceedings, but not the main body of their supporters. To many it was a mere frolic, to most but a political demonstration, though to no small number it was the occasion of life-long regret, of disgrace, and to some few of death itself.

In Lower Canada the facts were rather different; the rebellious habitant intended to rebel, but the rebellion was rather racial than political.

In neither Province had the movement the slightest chance of success. Sir Francis Bond Head with all his folly was not wrong in considering that there was no need of Imperial troops to keep Upper Canada to her allegiance. Upper Canada was, as she always has been, loyal to the core: and not even the wrongs which no small portion of her people were labouring under could induce her to become an outcast from the Empire.

In Lower Canada the Imperial troops were much in evidence, but they received strenuous and whole-hearted assistance from the loyal French and English Canadians.

The trouble never was very serious and needed not to cause much anxiety, so long as the United States did not interfere. While there was altogether too much favour shown to the rebels by State Governments and State officers, the conduct of the central Government and its officers was, in most instances, beyond reproach.

This, the only instance in Canadian History of open treason on the part of Canadians—with the exception of the North-West troubles—passed away with little but beneficial results. Lord Durham came as a consequence of the Rebellion—and in consequence of his report, Canada received her true status as a self-governing nation.

I think it may not be without interest if I say a few words about one or two other incidents in our history.

The story of the trade relations between the United States on the one hand and Canada and the Mother Country on the other, is very curious. When the Treaty of Peace was made in 1785 between the Old Land and the new United States, the United States proposed that they be allowed to participate in the trade with the colonies on this Continent on the same terms as England, but this met with a firm refusal. Negotiations were renewed in 1785 and 1789 without success. Even when Jay got his Treaty through in 1794, the Imperial Government refused to give way on trade relations. American ships were seized, and this furnished a pretext for the war of 1812; it was only a pretext, for there is no possible doubt that the real object of this war was the conquest and absorption of Canada. The Treaty of Ghent in 1814 was silent on the matter. In 1817 Congress attempted retaliation, non-intercourse was decreed, and at last in 1825 England gave way. But this time the Americans balked, and when they came round the British Government had become angry and refused to listen to Gallatin, the American Minister, when he tried to have the matter placed on a satisfactory basis.

In 1830 a limited arrangement was arrived at, which lasted till the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854. Up to 1830 and for a time thereafter, Canada did not take much interest in the matter: Britain gave her a preference for her wheat and other products, and the Navigation Laws worried the Americans chiefly.

But Britain determined on a Free Trade policy. Sir Robert Peel was forced by the Irish Famine in 1845 to advocate the abolition of protection, and finally, early in 1846, the Corn Laws were repealed by Parliament. Theretofore, for a time at least, Canadian wheat had been admitted to the British markets, but other wheat had been practically kept out by heavy duties.

By the repeal of the Corn Laws and lumber duties, Canada lost her preference. Stanley declared that the basis of colonial union was destroyed—the mill owners, forwarders, and merchants of Canada were on the verge of ruin.

> In 1846, the Legislature of Canada passed an address to the Queen asking that if the grain of the United States should be admitted free into Great Britain, the grain, etc., of Canada should be admitted

free into the United States. But 'converts are always enthusiasts'; and Great Britain was too ardent a convert to her new creed of Free Trade to stipulate with the United States for any Reciprocity. Congress in the same year passed legislation permitting Canadian bonded exports and imports to pass through the United States—thus giving large profits to the merchants and carriers and filling with traffic the canals of New York; but it did not tend to build up Canadian cities and ports.

About the same time Lord Elgin wrote to Lord Grey: "I believe that the conviction that they would be better off if they were annexed, is almost universal among the commercial classes at present"—and he gave an alarming account of the state of trade—and added "not only the organs of the league, but those of the government and of the Peel Party are always writing as if it were an admitted fact that colonies are a burden to be endured only because they cannot be got rid of: the end may be nearer at hand than we wot of."

Stagnation was universal in Canada, prosperity and progress in that part of the United States near her; many of the younger men lost faith in Canada and thought the only way out of the terrible position in which she found herself was annexation to the United States. Many men, some of them of great note and undoubted loyalty in after life, signed, in 1849, a manifesto in favour of union with the nation to the South—Sir John Rose, Sir John J. C. Abbott, Sir Francis Johnson, Sir David MacPherson, Sir George Cartier, Luther Holton, Sir Aimé A. Dorion, E. Goff Penny, the Molsons, the Redpaths, the Workmans—all names held in honour in Canada. It is to be borne in mind that no enmity against the Mother Land was expressed or intended. What was in view was a peaceful separation, gladly or at least cheerfully submitted to by the Old Land. The movement never seems to have laid hold upon the body of the people, and it speedily died out. John A. Macdonald advocated the formation of a British America League, whose first principle was to maintain inviolate the connection with the Mother Country. This was done in 1850, and the efforts of this League coupled with other causes resulted in the disappearance of the annexation sentiment. Perhaps the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 gave the desire for annexation its death blow. Since that time, whatever may sometimes have been said by orators desirous of fastening an odious charge upon political opponents, there never has been any annexation sentiment in Canada.

During the Civil War in the United States, the upper classes in Britain were, speaking generally, sympathizers with the South; the Union party were exceedingly angry at the want of sympathy with their cause. It was largely this anger which brought about the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1834.

I have elsewhere described what took place:

> The Treaty terminated March 17th, 1866. Politicians in the United States had been outspoken in the view that the complete abrogation of trade between Canada and the United States would bring about the speedy annexation of the former—the word was 'starve the Canadians into annexation, compel them to a close union, a political union as well as commercial—not partial but entire and complete.' The Consul-General of the United States at Montreal openly expressed sentiments of this character at a public meeting at Detroit, and many a man was urged in terms such as these: 'Sustain Reciprocity and you establish monarchy in British North America; defeat it and you ensure the triumph of republicanism over this continent.' In vain did men like Joseph Howe say, 'No consideration of finance, no question of balance for or against them upon interchanges of commodities can have any effect upon the loyalty of the British Provinces, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate the affections of the people from their country, their institutions, their government, and their Queen. There is not a man who dare, on the abrogation of the Treaty, if such should be its fate, take the hustings and appeal to any constituency on annexation principles throughout the entire domain.'

The result was what Howe foretold, and entirely different from what had been anticipated in the United States. Indeed the failure of the confident prophecies of those desiring the annexation of Canada was as marked as was the utter and disgraceful failure to implement the boast of easy and speedy conquest of Canada in 1812.

I have elsewhere thus described the results which followed the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty:

> The Reciprocity Treaty, procured with so much trouble was denounced, and Canada had necessarily to seek other markets. Much suffering ensued—I know whereof I speak—but no word of weak complaining was heard. The United States had a right to do as they did, and hard hit as Canada was, she recognized that right. But she had then to seek new markets and, what was more difficult, must adapt her output to the new markets. Time and again was the attempt made to procure more favourable consideration for her products from the authorities at Washington. As often was the attempt a failure . . . And the manner in which my country has gone through her years of trouble and anxiety, of penury and care, till now, with her new avenues of trade well beaten, and her commerce thoroughly established, she can look the whole world in the face and challenge admiration, is known to all who keep track of the world's commercial and industrial history.
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> Other important results followed the abrogation of the Treaty; the Federation of the Provinces then under consideration was hastened on and became an accomplished fact within fifteen months, the project of an Intercolonial Railway which had been allowed to lapse was taken up with vigour and pushed on, Commissioners were sent to British and other West India Islands to seek trade, the canals were enlarged, ocean and river steamship lines projected and subsidized, and ship-building received a vigorous impetus. The traffic between the United States and Canada fell from an average during the

> three years before the repeal, of $75,000,000 per annum, to an average of $57,000,000 per annum for the three years after the repeal. The trade of the Dominion speedily recovered from the blow, and soon overtook and far surpassed its former figures.
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> Delegates from Canada went to Washington in January, 1866, and remained a fortnight in the endeavour to negotiate a new treaty, but without effect.
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> In March a bill for the same purpose was introduced in the House of Representatives, but failed to pass.
>
> Both parties in Canada were and for long continued to be anxious for Reciprocity to be renewed: and it was not till after statesmen of both parties had been received with coldness and their approaches rejected, sometimes with scant courtesy, that the project was looked upon as hopeless, and Canada reconciled herself to work out her destiny without the supposed advantage of friendly and favourable trade relations with the more numerous people to the South.

But during all that time of stress there was no recrudescence of the annexation sentiment of 1849—no Canadian, however hard hit, even hinted at buying better trade relations through renunciation by Canada of her birthright as a member of the British Empire.

A little later, an attempt made by the late Goldwin Smith to stir up some feeling of the kind met with ridiculous and well-deserved failure—he failed to understand in almost every particular the Canadian people.

There is another interesting episode which should be mentioned: it has never received the attention which, to my mind, it deserves.

For a time after the American civil war there were negotiations which might have resulted in Canada being called upon to make a definite choice as to her continued union with Britain. Up to 1870, I think it may fairly be said, it was the feeling in official circles in Westminster that Canada was on the way to separation from the Empire, a separation that would inevitably come; and that such separation would be well for both the Mother

Country and the Colony. Beaconsfield, generally considered as an Imperialist of the extreme type, had been reported as speaking of "our wretched colonies which hang like a millstone around our necks." The *Times* as late as 1869 in an article probably inspired said: "Instead of the Colonies being dependencies of the Mother Country, the Mother Country is a dependency of the Colonies. We are tied while they are loose. We are subject to danger while they are free." And shortly after, when there was some complaint in Canada as to some of the provisions of the Treaty of Washington of 1871, the *Times* said openly and bluntly: "From this day forth look after your troubles yourself; you are big enough, you are strong enough, you are intelligent enough . . . We are both now in a false position, and the time has arrived when we should be relieved from it. Take up your freedom, your days of apprenticeship are over."

This feeling in influential circles was well known to the American Government: and I think it clear that the idea of getting hold of Canada was the governing motive in the mind of Sumner when he brought about the rejection by the Senate of the Johnson-Clarendon Convention intended to get rid of the difficulty between Britain and the United States over the Alabama matter. Goldwin Smith, amongst others, foresaw (as they thought) at that time that the end of it all was to be the annexation of Canada by way of full indemnity for the alleged wrongs of Britain against the United States—as Adams put it, "An ultimate seizure of Canada by way of indemnification." Zach. Chandler, Senator from Michigan, spoke in violent terms against Britain and stated baldly "his desire that Great Britain should possess no territory on the American Continent."

When Mr. Rose, afterwards Sir John Rose, was introduced, or introduced himself, into the negotiations going on, and informed Secretary Fish of how far he could go in the way of concessions, Sumner said: "The greatest trouble, if not peril, being a constant source of anxiety and disturbance, is from Fenianism, which is excited by the British flag in Canada. Therefore, the withdrawal of the British flag cannot be abandoned as a condition or preliminary of such a settlement as is now proposed. To make the settlement complete, the withdrawal should be from this hemisphere, including provinces and islands." Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador, sincerely wished a settlement of the trouble; he repeated what he had often said before, that Great Britain was willing, even anxious, for the Colony to become independent, but could not force independence upon Canada, and he added: "It is impossible to connect the question of Canadian independence with the Alabama claims, not even to the extent of providing for the reference of the question of independence to a popular vote of the people of the Dominion. Independence means annexation. They are one and the same thing."

The President, General Grant, went himself the length of suggesting to Thornton the possibility of Britain quitting Canada, and Hamilton Fish urged it upon him. Thornton replied: "Oh, you know, that we cannot do. The Canadians find fault with me for saying so openly as I do that we are ready to let them go whenever they shall wish; but they do not desire it." Fish claimed that it was the manifest destiny of Canada to be annexed to the United States, and hoped it might be in Grant's administration.

The proposition that Canada should be handed over in payment of Great Britain's debts did not escape the notice of Canadians. From one end of the Dominion to another, an outraged cry went up without distinction of race, creed, or politics. No one can forget the sledgehammer articles by the late George Brown, and they were but a sample of the whole.

It was in vain for Thornton to say: "It is impossible for Great Britain to inaugurate a separation. They are willing and even desirous to have one." Canadians with one voice said: "We shall not separate; our flag and our Queen are the flag and the Queen of the British Empire, and we shall not give up our share in them."

Grant had been accustomed to look on Great Britain as an enemy; he was strongly inclined to a policy of territorial expansion; he had said that if Sherman could not take Canada in thirty days he should be cashiered; he had no knowledge of, or much regard for, international law; and it is fairly clear that at one time he had in mind the possibility of an armed conquest of Canada. But, whether by reason of his quarrel with Sumner or for some other reason, his mind was taken off Canada and reverted to his old obsession of expansion southward, Cuba, Mexico. Canada escaped her "inevitable destiny" once more.

I have now shown how Canada is British.

The unexplained, and apparently unexplainable neglect by the English navigators to take advantage of the easy St. Lawrence route to the interior of the Continent, the greed and selfishness of a Stuart King, the bed-chamber influence of a Lady Masham, the effeminacy and want of capacity of a royal favourite's brother, the skill and valour of a Wolfe, the century-old enmity of French and English colonist, the energy and valour of Sir Guy Carleton, the contemptible meanness and dishonesty of some of the States of the American Union, the ubiquity and bravery of Sir Isaac Brock, the ambition for Southern conquest (or acquisition, rather) of an American President, the loyalty of Canadians from the first, and the sound common-sense regard for liberty and constitutional government shown by Imperial statesmen,—all had their part in keeping Canada within the Empire.

That is the "How?"—the "Why?" goes deeper and is of the present and not the past. We are British because we have as a birthright, a share in the Union Jack, a share in the long story of valour and self-sacrifice of those who have lived under its folds, in the glory of many centuries of history.

We are convinced that there is no secular institution which can compare as an instrument of good to mankind with the British Empire: and we are determined not to give up our share in it. Nowhere is there such liberty as the British subject enjoys—not bound by the dead hand of a dead and gone generation, he makes his government as he wishes it to be, "Girt by friend or foe, he says the thing he will." Thought is free, speech is free, worship of God is free.

And with freedom comes opportunity. In every knapsack there is the Marshal's baton, the career is open to the talent—a man is what he makes himself—the barber's apprentice may become the Chief-justice of England, the farmer's son or the stone-mason, the Prime Minister of Canada.

We are a free nation in a free Empire—and what can heart wish more? What more can the most ardent patriot demand?

OUR IMPERIAL RELATIONS

An Address by MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P., Leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 31, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Our view as to what our Imperial relations should be will depend largely on our conception of Empire, and of the ideal towards which we should work. There are, however, some facts and some principles upon which, I feel sure, we can all agree:

(1) Canada and the other self-governing Dominions are no longer colonies dependent upon Great Britain, but are, as Sir Frederick Pollock, one of the most distinguished of British jurists has said, "Separate kingdoms having the same King as the parent group, but choosing to abrogate that part of their full autonomy which relates to foreign affairs. . . . The States of the Empire stand on an equal footing, except that the Government of one of them represents all the rest in the community of nations, and is gracefully permitted in consequence to undertake to pay for maritime defence;"

(2) The King and not the Imperial Parliament is the real and vital bond of union between the Dominions and the Mother Country, and the present Imperial Parliament, except in foreign affairs, peace and war, and other questions of like character, no longer professes to speak or legislate for the self-governing Dominions, whose national status is now frankly recognized;

(3) If some new body is to be constituted which, together with the Crown, shall constitute a unifying force in the management of the affairs of the Empire, it must be a body not which suits Canada or Great Britain alone, but which meets the needs of all the self-governing portions of the Empire, and is acceptable to all self-governing peoples of the Empire. No one would for a moment suggest that any new organization should

be, or could be, imposed upon any of the self-governing Dominions. Any such new body or organization must be constituted by these Dominions themselves, acting with the Mother Country;

(4) Such a body must recognize the full equality of the five free nations which go to make up the Empire, and that the principle governing their action must be co-operation and not the centralization of power in the hands of one;

(5) Such a body must be truly representative and truly responsible to the peoples or governments of all the self-governing portions of the Empire;

(6) To endeavour to force the creation of a new organization which would limit or curtail the rights of self-government of the free nations of the Empire would imperil rather than promote unity, but as we work together, profiting by the experience of the past and seeking to meet the needs of the present, we shall work out for the whole Empire the organization best suited to the Empire's needs. The British constitution has been of slow growth. It is the product of the needs and of the experience of generations. The genius of the British people is equal to the task of meeting the needs of the future, and of the new conditions which may confront us as a people.

Four suggestions have been made in recent years as to the form an Imperial organization should take: (1) Imperial Federation; (2) Imperial Council of Defence; (3) Committee of Imperial Defence; (4) Imperial Conference.

(1) *Imperial Federation*

The first sought to solve the problem by giving Canada and the other Dominions representation in the present British Parliament. This would mean centralizing the power in the hands of Great Britain. It is inconsistent with our national status and self-governing powers, and it is no longer advocated by any responsible leader of public opinion in any part of the Empire.

(2) *Imperial Council of Defence*

At the Imperial Conference of 1911, Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, proposed the creation of an Imperial Council of Defence in which all the self-governing portions of the Empire should be represented in proportion to population, and that this Council should deal with all matters of defence and foreign policy. Sir Joseph Ward contended for a unified system of defence for the whole Empire, and for the right of the Dominions to share in the control and direction of foreign policy through the new Council or Parliament of Defence, in which all the Dominions should be represented. The resolution was unanimously opposed by the other members of the Conference, either because of its impracticability or because it was inopportune. Mr. Asquith, President of the Conference, in expressing the view of the Government of Great Britain stated that the proposal was one to which he could not possibly assent:

> It would impair, if not altogether destroy, the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration of the maintenance of peace or the declaration of war and, indeed, all those relations with foreign powers, necessarily of the most delicate character, which are now in the hands of the Imperial Government, subject to its responsibility to the Imperial Parliament. That authority cannot be shared, and the co-existence side by side with the Cabinet of the United Kingdom of this proposed body—it does not matter by what name you call it for the moment—clothed with the functions and the jurisdiction which Sir Joseph Ward proposed to invest it with, would, in our judgment, be absolutely fatal to our present system of responsible government . . . We cannot, with the traditions and the history of the British Empire behind us, either from the point of view of the United Kingdom or from the point of view of our self-governing Dominions, assent for a moment to proposals which are so fatal to the very

fundamental conditions on which our Empire has been built up and carried on.

All those who had the opportunity of hearing Sir George Reid, the Australian High Commissioner, speak on the question of our Imperial relations will recall with what clearness and force he pointed out the difficulties in the way of any such new Imperial organization with power to exercise control over the whole Empire. Such a proposal would not be entertained at the present time by the free nations of the Empire.

(3) *The Committee of Imperial Defence*

In view of the proposal now being made that a representative of Canada should have a seat on the Committee of Imperial Defence, it is of interest to consider the personnel, character, and the power of this Committee.

The Committee of Imperial Defence consists of the Prime Minister of Great Britain as the only permanent member, and such other persons as he may invite to sit as members of the Committee. The London *Times* recently pointed out that "in normal times it consists of the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, War, and India, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Permanent Secretaries, and other important officers of these Departments, and one or two others—such as Lord Haldane and Lord Kitchener—specially nominated by the Prime Minister with the approval of the King." The functions of the Committee as described in the memorandum circulated to the Colonial Conference in 1907, are:

> (*a*) To facilitate common discussion and agreement as to matters of Imperial Defence which fall within the purview of more than one Department, and which otherwise might involve long and indecisive correspondence; (*b*) To advise in case of any questions relating to local or general defence which may be referred to it by the Secretary of State at the request of the self-governing colonies; (*c*) To bring naval and military experts into direct touch with the Ministers, who are enabled to ques-

> tion them freely and fully, thus avoiding the misunderstandings which may arise from minutes and memoranda. The Committee is a purely consultative body, having no executive powers or administrative functions. . . . Questions are referred to the Committee by the Prime Minister, or by the head of a Department of State. When special information is required, the Prime Minister may summon any person who may be in possession of such information. When a colonial question is discussed, either the Secretary of State for the Colonies or another representative of the Colonial Office is present.

After the Colonial Conferences of 1907 had settled the constitution of the Imperial Conference, it also by resolution provided for colonial representation on the Committee of Imperial Defence when matters affecting the colonies should, at the request of any colony, be brought up for consideration, but under this resolution the Committee of Imperial Defence would be purely an advisory body to any particular Colony or Dominion which desired to secure its advice, as at the present time it is an advisory body to the British Government on matters of Defence.

The position of a representative of Canada on this Committee would apparently be equal but not superior to that of Permanent Secretaries or other officers of the Departments of the British Government, and it is quite clear from Mr. Asquith's statement, as well as from the recent statement in the London *Times* as to the personnel and functions of this Committee, that there is no intention on the part of the Imperial Government of making this Committee, even with the representatives of Canada, and the other Dominions upon it, anything more than an advisory committee to the British Government, a Committee absolutely under the control of the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

While representation on the Committee of Imperial Defence may serve a useful purpose, particularly when matters affecting Canada are under consideration, all must agree that no one would seriously suggest that giving Canada or the other Dominions a seat on this Committee would be giving them any real voice in the management of defence or of foreign policy.

(4) *The Imperial Conference*

The Imperial Conference, formed by resolution of the Colonial Conference of 1907, concurred in by the Governments of Great Britain and all the self-governing Dominions, is to-day an effective organization for dealing with matters of common interest to the whole Empire. This Conference was a natural development from the first Colonial Conference of 1887, called by the Government of Great Britain at the time of the Queen's Jubilee. At the opening of the Conference of 1887 Lord Salisbury stated, "We are all sensible that this meeting is the beginning of a state of things which is to have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant councils of the Empire may, in some far-off time, look back to the meeting in this room as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence sprang." Lord Salisbury little dreamed that within the short space of twenty years a truly Imperial Conference would be organized with the full assent of all the self-governing Dominions. This Imperial Conference, created in 1907, marked a new era in the national development of the Dominions, as well as in the relations between these Dominions and the Mother Country. It recognizes the national status of the Dominions, as distinct from the Mother Country. It is truly representative in its character, being composed of the Prime Ministers of the Mother Country and self-governing Dominions; it is responsible in that each Prime Minister has back of him a parliamentary majority, and therefore has the power to implement the resolutions to which he gives assent; it recognizes the autonomy of all the governments, and no resolution affecting any particular government can become effective unless assented to by it. It is formed for the consideration of all matters of common interest.

The Conference has already done much to promote co-operation and unity in matters of common interest throughout the Empire. It has furthered measures for Imperial Defence on land and on sea; for the development of inter-Imperial trade; for the improvement of communications and transportations throughout the Empire; for the harmonizing of our laws at important points of common interest, and for the creation of a truly Imperial citizenship.

Two Imperial organizations of equal status and responsibility are impossible. Do not let us lose the substance in grasping for the shadow. Let us maintain the Imperial Conference in its strength, its freedom, and its truly representative character as an effective instrument for co-operation in Imperial affairs. It is the organization to which the statesmen of the Empire have for years given their best thought, and which has proved such a unifying force in promoting the highest interests of both the Dominions and the Mother Land, an organization which, judged by its past history as well as its present character, is capable of developing to meet the future needs and exigencies of the Empire.

OUR NATIONAL EQUIPMENT

An Address by Sir George Ross, K.T., LL.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 7, 1912.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It is always pleasant to meet with the Empire Club. I am something of an Imperialist myself. I must thank his Lordship for his kind words. It is a rare gift to say pleasant things, and to say them well. It is a privilege, I suppose, which he can naturally claim on account of his nationality and his kindness of heart.

If you were going to establish a great industry, a few considerations would at once present themselves. First, have you the capital to go on? That is a very important consideration. Then, could you find a proper site with sufficient room for the plant and machinery with which to carry on the industry; are you conveniently situated for the raw material which has to be employed in the industry; is skilled labour and unskilled labour, too, easily obtained; could you find a market for your products; and so on. The same general principle *mutatis mutandis* applies to the founding and equipping of a nation, and if I were asked to choose, from the mighty expanse of this great globe on which we live, a portion on which to found a nation, and to make the site of a great empire, having in view the considerations already given, I would choose the present site bounded by the great oceans that bound our Dominion, and which we are proud to call the Dominion of Canada. (Applause) For situation, for climate, for resources, for accessibility to the trade and commerce of the world, I know of no nation more favourably situated than we are, and with the materials at our disposal, which I propose to discuss somewhat in detail, I hope every one of us will feel that if the nation fails it is because of the failure of our efforts, and our want of national energy.

What are we territorially? We are 3,707,000 square miles in area,—three or four hundred thousand square miles larger than the United States, and the Americans have made of their territory a great republic. We are one third of the whole extent of the British Empire. We have elbow room. We are only two persons to the square mile. The United States has thirty; England or Great Britain has 371; France has 190; Germany has 310; Belgium has 589. If we were as populous as the United States, and some day we may be, our population would be now over 100,000,000 of people. The United States began the last century with the same population as we began this century. Will the closing of this century see us with the vast population with which they closed the nineteenth century? It depends upon ourselves to realize that result. I said as to climate our position is most favourable, and this is a peculiar circumstance, or perhaps I should not say peculiar, but a circumstance in the history of all great modern nations, that those who occupy the northern zone are the strongest, the most virile, and the most progressive. Mr. Seward, who was Secretary of State in the Lincoln administration, speaking of Canada, made this reference, as far back as 1857: He said, "All southern political stars must set, though many times arise again with diminished splendour, but these which illuminate the Pole remain shining forever, increasing in splendour." Our star illumines the Pole. May we realize all that Seward predicted for the peoples living in the northern zone. (Applause) To be larger than the United States, to occupy an area nearly equal to the whole of the area of Europe, is a vast heritage to begin with, and demands on our part immense energy for its development.

Its natural resources are the second consideration. Have we the raw material out of which to make a country? Our agricultural resources are greater materially than the agricultural resources of any other country in the world. Our wheat fields have no superior. Last year the grain crops of Canada amounted to $565,000,000. Our wheat fields are yet undeveloped. Should we cultivate one half of the area at our disposal we could feed the world, producing as we now do over 250,000,000 bushels of wheat. With our vast prairies under cultivation, who can estimate or who can fully estimate, the productivity of the Dominion of Canada? And the West is not all, for in Ontario and the Eastern Provinces we have agricultural lands that produce crops equal to the best land in any Continent of the globe. (Hear, hear) Our agricultural resources are, as I say, unlimited. There is no boundary to their productivity except the limits of those who cultivate the soil.

Our forest products also, part of our natural resources, without which we would not be fully equipped, are greater, except perhaps those of the United States and Brazil, than any country known to us. The Department of Forestry at Ottawa say that the standing timber of Canada represents five hundred billion feet of lumber. That will build many a structure, and will assist in constructing homes for the millions yet to be.

Our mineral products are still unknown, but are in process of rapid development. Last year they represented $109,000,000 of money. Our cement, and that is a natural product of great value now, produced $7,571,000. We produced $26,000,000 worth of coal, and from the report of the Geological Department at Ottawa it would appear that no country has larger coal fields than Canada; not speaking of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick merely, but going west a great part of Alberta is a coal field, and so are large portions of British Columbia, and as I said, at the present rate of consumption, our coal would last us at least five thousand years. That is long enough for any of us who are present at this Club. (Laughter)

We produced last year $6,911,000 worth of copper, and my friend to the left, just recently from the Yukon, tells me there is still "corn in Egypt and gold in the Yukon." We produced $10,000,000 of nickel. Canada has the only nickel mines of any consequence yet discovered. We produced $14,452,000 worth of silver, placing Cobalt as the second greatest mining camp in the world. Have we not there abundance of raw material with which to erect a glorious superstructure of Empire, of Dominion, of wealth, of industry, of power? No nation taking stock in what it now owns in any of the lines I have enumerated can show a better balance sheet.

Who are we then that are the shareholders in this vast estate? Each one of us is a shareholder. We may appoint directors to manage the estate, and we do, but on the shareholders in the last analysis lies the responsibility of developing this great estate.

We are composed of different races, and the mere mention of these races will be in itself suggestive of what can be accomplished. If these races in other lands and under circumstances less favourable have acquired, some of them, the sovereignty of the world, and others have reached the rank of first class nations, why should not races of a similar origin do in Canada what they have done in Europe, in Asia, and in the Dark Continent? Who are we? We are 7,204,000 men, women, and children. Of that population 4,671,000 are Canadian born,—a good country to be born in (applause); four sevenths of them bred under our own flag, educated in our own schools, nurtured in our own homes, with a character which Canada home life, I am happy to say, gives to all her sons. Nationally we consist of two great strains, the French and the Saxon, with a considerable infusion of the German. Of the French we have 1,649,371, to be accurate. These French are the children, the descendants, of the 85,000 who remained in Canada when the French flag was lowered on Quebec, and our old Union Jack substituted for it in 1759. That they are a virile race is shown from the fact that from those 85,000 in fifty years we have now over a million and a half. I shall not speak of the characteristics of the French race. If the French race in Canada but exhibit the chivalry, the courtesy, the refinement, the love of home, and at the same time the fondness for everything pertaining to their national institutions, then we have in that French population an element which must contribute largely to the development and prosperity of Canada. (Applause)

The next section—of British origin we have about twice as many as the French, namely, 3,063,195; Saxon English, 1,260,899—a noble strain. Who that looks back over the history of England from the days of King Alfred, the first great Englishman, shall I say, down to our present time, and who watches the development of the English constitution from the foundation laid in the Magna Charta in 1215 down to the concession of Responsible Government by Act of Settlement in 1688, but will say that the Saxon mind is particularly qualified for self-government, that the Saxon character is heroic—perhaps stubborn, perhaps self-willed, but ordinarily just, guided by the principle of fair play, by equal rights, by independence of character, by heroic fortitude in difficulties, and by a determination, no matter what intervenes, to maintain its superiority in the face of all opposition. (Applause) Will our 1,260,000 English do for Canada what the early English Saxon race did for England? Will they stand four square against every wind that blows? Will they be invincible where justice ought to triumph? Will they be courageous where danger meets them? Will they be adventurous and bold where there are new worlds to conquer? Will they wield the sceptre of justice over the nations they rule with equal rights to all and special favours to none? If so we will say, Thank God, for one million two hundred and sixty thousand Englishmen in Canada.

Next in enumeration we have 988,721 of Irish origin, —another grievance for Ireland! Englishmen again on top! but here we are, and we have to put up with it, and we do it with feelings of pride and pleasure. No position, I am happy to say, is closed against a man because of his origin, and no man who shows himself qualified for the highest position in the gift of his fellow-men or the Crown is debarred because of his nationality. In Ireland, of course, there has been a great deal of trouble, but we are happy to say that the Irishman who comes to Canada leaves the most of his troubles at home,—where they ought to remain. What is patriotism in Canada I am sorry to say is Pat-riotism in Ireland. (Laughter) We all love the love and the warmth of an Irishman's devotion, even when in the excitement of his devotion he knocks us down. We all love his enthusiasm for liberty, whether he wins it with a shillelagh or obtains it peacefully from his fellow-men. An Irishman must be free if he has to fight for it, and if he fights he is very apt to win—a very useful, affectionate, and loyal element is that Irish element. Will they do for Canada as they have done in their own land, and in other lands?

Next in order we have 800,154 of Scotch origin. We go to the hills of Scotland for men, for fighting men, (hear, hear) for men who are as fearless as the skirling bag-pipes on the slopes of Bannockburn. They are men who never falter in battle. They are men who save their money, who keep the Sabbath, and everything else they can lay their hands on. (Laughter) God bless the Scotchman, even in his infirmities. If they have not done their duty yet they can do it now, and let them begin to lay in Canada the same foundation of truth, of courage, of religious devotion, and of energy which has characterized them in the Old Land.

We have 310,501 of German origin. No better farmer, no more industrious man, no more loyal citizen, no better conducted homes, than the German homes of Canada, and the German homes of the old land (Hear, hear). Although now and again we have a German scare it is not because of the natural hostility of the Germans to Britain or British institutions. It is, I think, sometimes a little in our own minds because we know the power and force of that tremendous empire with its 64,000,000, should it be aroused to a war-like attitude. Let us not fear at least our own German population, for they are daily adding to the wealth of Canada.

With such material can we fail? Can we fail—a three-fold strand is not easily broken. If you had your pick of the nations of the world, what better choice could you have made than to select the elements to which I have referred? If we should fail, then we are recreant to the race from which we are sprung, and the blood which runs in our veins has become degenerate, and our hearts have weakened and our souls are shameless in the presence of such tremendous opportunities! (Applause) But there is more than blood. There is that foundation of moral purpose without which you cannot make a nation. The greatest force in the world, greater than armaments, than floating Leviathans armed with thunder, than tented fields, than hundreds of thousands of soldiers armed from head to heel, is the great silent force of Christianity which reaches to the hearts and souls of men (applause) because that force is working here—if the different names under which it is called do not belie themselves. By the last census we have 2,229,600 Roman Catholics in Canada; we have 2,731,035 professing Christianity under three or four of its leading denominations, and mixed through you have the fallibility and infallibility which ought to preserve reasonably well the equilibrium of our faith. We have of Methodists, 916,000, of Presbyterians, 842,000, of Anglicans, 690,000, of Baptists 316,000. Take these four denominations and mix them as you choose, or take them up one by one, and endeavour to understand their purposes, study their principles, survey the work they have done, consider what they are doing now, how they bring before the mind of our Canadian people the one great fact that life is real, life is earnest, and the grave is not its goal, how they emphasize, and accentuate every duty in life, in business, in public and in private, by the supreme authority of one great God who loves and rules us all, no escape from the consequences of sin, public or private, but all acts of life and all its functions accentuated by that responsibility, will that not make a nation? Can injustice prevail if Christianity rises to the full altitude of its power? Can there be poverty in the land when He who fills our barns with plenty says he who labours in the sweat of his brow can enjoy the substance, the substantial things of life? Can there be meanness in the face of the great standard of self-sacrifice and service which the Bible presents to us? Can there be laggards in the face of the great duty imposed upon every one to fulfil the full purpose for which he was created and be a man no matter what position he occupies? That leavening influence of Christianity gives us a moral purpose which nothing, in my judgment, can restrain.

Then we have our educational resources—our Colleges, our schools of all shades and grades by which every child can be educated. No place for illiterates, no place for ignorance; a press that reaches to almost every home and watches as from a watch tower the weaknesses and failings of frail man and then publishes in heroic language the judgment of our fellow-citizens. That is in itself a great educator. But I must pass over these things quickly.

I have spoken of our racial origin, of the moral foundation on which we stand. What are we doing to show that we have the energy to develop these resources and to possess these lands? Are we timid like those who wandered in the desert for forty years, and do we hesitate to possess the goodly land which is open to us? What do our energies produce? We are engaged in industrial pursuits, and as a proof of our energy in industrial life suffice it to say that last year the products of our factories realized the enormous sum of $1,164,000,000 of money. That was produced by 514,281 artisans and workingmen. Marvellous results! Raw material taken into the factory and produced ready for common use by the busy hand of the toiler—God bless him. Do we realize his usefulness who from early morn till late at eve makes this Canada a great hive of industry, and fills what might be destitute homes with peace and plenty? The force and energy of seven millions producing these results is in itself a guarantee of achievements yet to come. And not only do we produce that, for that is practically only our own consumption, but we have money enough to buy from abroad. We did buy last year $472,000,000 worth of imported goods, of which $327,000,000 worth were manufactured in more or less degree of completion. We can feed and clothe ourselves sumptuously with certain articles which we can produce, and having done so we can go to the corners of the world and supplement what we produce ourselves with that large amount of foreign supply. This fact also shows the extent to which the commerce and trade of Canada has grown. Let me give you one fact. In 1868 when we began Confederation we were able to export $57,000,000 worth of goods. That would be about eighteen dollars per head. Last year we exported $297,-

000,000 worth of goods. We increased our productivity six and a half fold in forty-five years. Of course we about doubled our population in that time, but assuming that we did double our population we increased our exports five and a half fold. We were able in 1868 to buy $73,000,000 worth of goods. Money was scarce at that time, and we were poor. Last year we bought $472,000,000 worth of foreign goods, or six and a half times as much as we were able to buy forty-five years ago. That shows a large increase in wealth. Our imports and exports can be placed alongside of the greatest commercial country in the world. Britain, for imports, for trade, has no rival, shall I say, except Canada. The trade of Great Britain represents $125 per head. The trade of Canada to-day, by last year's returns as far as reported, represents just exactly the same amount. (Applause) The trade of the United States represents thirty-six dollars per head. The United States exports more manufactures than we do, but imports less than we do. They import nine dollars' worth of manufactured goods per head, and we import forty-seven dollars' worth, thus showing the immense space yet to be filled by the home industries of Canada. We have reached that high point of advancement; but when you consider the height to which the Americans have reached compared with us, you will see what great room there is yet for the expansion of our Canadian industries. Let me give a fact or two. We imported, for instance, of cottons and manufactures $19,000,000 worth. Of course a good deal of that was raw cotton. We imported hats, caps, and bonnets, $3,500,000. Of course these may be fashionable things that we may not be expected to produce, but we imported them. Iron and steel $86,000,000 worth. Wool manufactures $24,000,000 worth, and if you look over the table of imports you will see an immense variety of things which I shall hope yet to see produced at home giving employment to our own people and encouraging the development of our own industries. (Applause) I do not object to foreign produce, but I believe that goods made at home by Canadians in Canadian factories bring more wealth to Canada than goods made in a foreign factory by people who are adding to the wealth and increasing the population of a foreign country.

But I must pass over some of these things which are very interesting in some respects. Now, I have shown, as I have already indicated, what we are producing. We are not an idle people. We could not be idle when our commerce has grown as it has. We could not be idle with our factories producing as much as they do. Have we kept up with the demands of this development in the way of transportation? There is no good producing an article unless you can send it to the market. You cannot produce material unless you have the facilities for bringing the raw material to your factory. In railway development Canada's position stands very high. For our population we have more miles of railway than the United States. In 1836, "when you and I were young, Maggie, a long time ago," we just had sixteen miles of railway. In 1866, at the time of Confederation, we had 2,978 miles. That was thirty years' progress. In 1896, thirty years more, we had 16,270 miles, and now we have 25,400 miles and three Transcontinentals,—one completed and two on the eve of completion. We with a population of seven millions have three Transcontinentals, and the United States with a population of ninety millions have seven Transcontinentals. Very well for Canada! We have invested in railways between stocks and subsidies and cash and guarantees $1,879,204,812, nearly two billion dollars of capital, mostly borrowed, but we have the credit, and I suppose we ought to use it in the development of this country. Now, what does that signify? That we a young people, seven millions only, could be so bold and so adventurous as to open up millions of acres which we possess as far as we have done by the construction of such an extensive system of railways, and we are only on the way—there is much yet to be done although much has been done—can you show any other people with the same courage and enterprise? And never as far as I can remember at this moment has any of our railways failed or been put into the hands of a receiver. A different story comes to us from the other side. Then we have developed at an expenditure of $130,000,000 of money the largest canal system in the world, reaching from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where necessary, up to the western end of Lake Superior. That gives us communication along one half of our southern frontier. I point out these advantages in transportation to you for two reasons. First of all they show the indomitable energy in dealing with difficulties. Secondly, they show commendable and, shall I say, heroic enterprise in undertaking what appeared early in our history to be an undertaking to overcome insurmountable difficulties. Who would have thought we would have scaled the Rocky Mountains just about seventeen years after the Americans sent their first train from Washington to California? The Union Pacific crossed in '69, and we crossed in '86, and we were a small folk then compared with the United States. I mention this for another reason, to show that these transportation facilities afford the basis of future development. They may not be in the future on so large a scale, but they are on a scale at least large enough to meet our present necessities. That is the result of our natural energy.

Then the working capital of Canada, whether it keeps pace with the demands of industry is for you business men to say, but let me say it is considerable. I am speaking first of our banking system. We have $113,000,000 of stock in our banks paid up yielding a dividend of from six to eighteen per cent. I hope you all hold some of the eighteen per cent. stock. We have reserves of $104,000,000. We have deposits of loose money of $1,096,859,979. Where the banks got that money from I don't know. I do not trouble them with much of it. $1,000,000,000 of money not required for actual business by those who deposit it, but afterwards given out by the banks to the extent of between $800,000,000 and $900,000,000 for business discount. We have in our Government Savings Banks $14,000,000. We have in our Post-office Savings Banks $58,000,000. You are getting rich. I fear you are looking now as if you are getting richer. Our insurance companies distribute $55,000,000.

That is their income. Our loan companies distribute $53,000,000. We have deposited in our loan companies about $50,000,000. You have in all $1,500,000,000 of money circulated through the businesses of this country in wages, in industries, in foreign exchange, in keeping the pot boiling at home, in paying street car fares and railway fares, and in giving dividends to everybody who supplies anything required. Whether that circulation is equal to our wants or not it shows an enormous amount of accumulated funds—accumulated by the people of Canada largely in the last forty or fifty years.

There is just one seamy side of this picture to which I refer, and that is the tremendous loss of life on our railway systems. I will just read one quotation which I made from the *Monetary Times* the other day which summarizes in brief: "In four years there were killed in industrial accidents 5,296—a terrible toll to pay in our efforts to get rich. There were injured, 10,444. The total killed and injured on railways and by industrial accidents, and by fires in four years, amounted to 45,428, killed, injured, and maimed for life, or at the rate of 11,357 per annum." The *Monetary Times* says in other words, "Every day during the last four years six persons have been killed and nineteen injured, or about one killed or injured every hour of the day." It is for you engaged in industrial pursuits to see if some check cannot be put upon this terrible loss of life.

Summing up let me ask: For what are we responsible as a new nation? You have seen what we are, and you have learned what our people are capable of doing. What are our responsibilities? I will give you a few that I jotted down line by line. First, shall I say, for the conservation of our natural resources. Let us not be spendthrifts. The prodigal in the far country was content to feed on the husks which the swine did eat but no one gave to him. Let us not play the part of the prodigal! Let us save our forests! Let us save our farms by improved agriculture! Let us preserve our mineral resources by the best means known to science! We are responsible for the defence of this great country. (Applause) We are responsible to see that our homes are secure against internal foes if any should arise, though there do not seem to be such foes in Canada for we are obedient to law and order, and against foreign foes, should any assail by land or by sea. It is our duty to realize that we are no mean people, and to realize, too, the magnitude of our necessities, and see that that defence is adequate and complete. (Applause)

We are responsible for the education of two millions of children. Let us not forget the fireside, the little lads from five to fifteen who go to our public schools whose minds are being formed, and who will be good Canadians, if we help to make them good, and if we fill them with the love of country. Old Hamilcar, it is said, took his young son Hannibal to the temple of his god and placed him upon his knees before the supreme idol of Courage, and bade him swear eternal hatred to the Romans. Let us do better by bringing our sons to the fireside, and to their mother's and their father's knee, and bid them swear eternal loyalty to Canada and to good Government. (Applause)

We are responsible for the training of our industrial forces. No cheap goods in Canada; no unskilled workmen where better workmen can be obtained, no shoddy for the market, no discreditable goods placed upon the foreign market, but everything of the best and illustrative of the highest Canadian skill.

We are responsible for the health and comfort of five hundred thousand artisans in our factories. Let us respect the toil by which they earn their living and the comfort which that toil brings to us. You enter your homes and you tread upon lovely carpets made amid the buzz of machinery, and you say, "Oh, how nice," and you sit down in an easy chair and loll before a pleasant fire, and you say, "How lovely." Do you think that that coal is the product of the deep mine, and that easy chair is the product of a factory where men toil late and early? "Lest we forget," says Kipling, but let us not forget. You sit under a handsome gasalier or electrolier and you read your evening paper, and you forget the toil that produced the paper or the industry that led to that pleasant light which you so much enjoy. Let us reach out the hands of sympathy. And I do not say it in a pathetic sense, for the workingman needs no more sympathy than anybody else, but let us extend the hand of honest help where help is required and see that he labours under the best conditions.

We are responsible for the moral character, and shall I say, for the political character, for that is a most difficult thing to guard, of one million four hundred thousand electors who come up to the polls as often as they are asked, or who do not come up—and the more shame to those who stay at home and do not vote—sometimes from an easy conscience, and sometimes according to the pressure brought to bear upon them, but wherever they vote let them vote for the benefit of their country.

Shall we, too, who are educated in the constitutional history of Canada and in its prospects, and its expectations, be responsible for religious toleration? No intolerant bigoted brand should ever be held in the hands of a single Canadian man or woman. There is no birthright equal to that of liberty of conscience and liberty of thought, and we are responsible for the liberty of thought and a free press, and for liberty of conscience, and we are responsible for a deeper and more intelligent Canadian feeling, and for deeper loyalty to Empire. These things it is the object of this Club to aid and to advance. We are responsible for playing the game of nation-building with courage, with energy, and so my last word shall be, "Play up, play up, and play the game."

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EMPIRE

An Address by Mr. George R. Parkin, D.C.L., LL.D,, C.M.G., of London, England, and Oxford, before the Empire Club of Canada, November 14, 1912

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

No words that I could possibly use could express the happiness and pleasure that it always gives me to come back to this city where I spent some of the most strenuous and most interesting years of my life, and to see the faces of old friends, and to hope that the new faces which I see have the same cordial welcome for me that the old have.

A thousand things rush back upon one's recollection when he comes back to a place where his life and those of his family have been spent so long, but of course in a gathering like this where time is extremely limited one must not dwell upon that at all.

The subject upon which I am going to speak to you is not one of my own choice, but one suggested to me by the authorities of your Club. In accepting the invitation I knew perfectly well that in the limit of an after-luncheon speech it was absolutely impossible to deal in anything like detail with the vast question which was placed before me.

The very most I can hope to do is to pick out a few of the salient points of the question and try to give them to you for consideration in the light of experience which I have gained in travelling over almost every part of the Empire and in the light also of such reflection as I have been able to give in the course of a life which has been chiefly devoted to educational ideas and educational ideals.

In the first place I want to say one word in regard to the title of this educational subject. You all know that in almost every walk of public life we are now compelled to think in terms of the Empire. (Hear, hear) This is true, as you know, in political relations; it is true in naval and military questions; it is true in trade and commerce; it is true in all the great questions of religious and social organization. On every one of these great questions during the last few years we have found consultation between representatives from every part of the Empire to be necessary; and, as things now stand, to weigh these questions adequately without consultation or without comparing experience is not merely impossible, but would be the very height of national foolishness. This is just as true in regard to educational matters as in regard to anything else.

Last summer we had in London a great Congress of Universities of the Empire. In a paper which I read before that Congress, I pointed out that the fifty-four Universities of the Empire which were represented there were responsible for the higher educational interests of countries which covered four fifths of the area of the world and nearly one fifth of its population. What did this mean? It meant that in University life, just as in political life, our British people are gaining the most wonderful range of experience that any nation has ever known in the whole range of human history. They are getting this experience on the political side in every form of administration, sometimes in the freest democracies that exist and again in methods of government which involve paternal despotism. So in educational matters we are having experience under almost every condition. We have experience with the ancient Universities of the old world, which have hundreds of years of tradition behind them. We have the new Universities of the newly settled continents, dealing with different problems in Canada, in South Africa, in Australia, or New Zealand. We are dealing with the question of giving some degree of university education to the immense body of other races over whom the circumstances of history have given us control. Now what I pointed out to that great Congress of Universities was this, that it would be absolute folly for a nation like ours not to compare our experiences in different parts of the world, and see where some were failing and others succeeding, what methods were the best, and which inadequate, and in that way try to combine our experiences for the advantage of the whole. You would be surprised to know how this interchange of experience acts over the world even at the present time. I happen, from my peculiar position, to have an opportunity to see it as not many can. A friend of mine is just now engaged in organizing a University in Western Australia, while an old pupil of mine is doing the same thing out in Saskatchewan for a prospective population of perhaps five millions of people. I am as a go-between giving my friend in West Australia the results that my friend in North-west Canada is achieving in carrying out his scheme. This same thing is going on in many parts of the world. As a result of the discussion in the Congress, the Universities resolved to form a central bureau for the collection and distribution of all ideas with regard to University education, to arrange for the easy transfer of students from one University in the Empire to another, for exchange of professors, and for a wide comparison of University experience by recurring conferences. No other nation in the world has ever had such an opportunity as that.

The same thing I believe ought to be applied to the whole educational methods of our Empire. I wonder if we ever try to concentrate into some brief formulæ what the essential aims of education are. What are the main objects we must keep in view? I should say perhaps this could be put under two or three heads in a broad way. I think we may say that to maintain a high standard of morality in all the relations of public, commercial, and social life is one of the main objects of education. In the next place, undoubtedly another object of education is to increase the efficiency of the individual citizen for whatever work he has to do, and to deepen his sense of public duty and responsibility for unselfish service to the whole community. In the third place, I am inclined to say that the object of our national education should be to increase the happiness and welfare of the individual citizen, and of the whole community to which we belong. Now, if you take that view, you will see what a weight of responsibility lies upon the shoulders of those who have to think upon educational questions, and carry out educational systems. And, as in many other things, that sense of responsibility must rest on the shoulders of the man of British race more heavily than upon any other people or any other race in the world. Why do I say that? Let me state the main lines of this responsibility. First, the responsibility of the Mother Land; next, the responsibility of the great self-governing Colonies to which the people of the Mother Land go; and next, the responsibility which both Mother Land and Colonies owe to those three hundred and fifty millions of the weaker races that, in the course of our history, have been placed under our control and who look to us for development, wise government, justice, and whatever else makes for their highest good.

First let me speak about the responsibility of the Mother Land. Very often in England I am asked to speak upon the educational, political, or religious relations of the different parts of the Empire. Now, I never do this in England without being impressed in almost an overwhelming way with the burden of responsibility towards the rest of the world that lies upon the people of the United Kingdom. Do you ever think what it means? Here is a nation inhabiting but a small country that is every year sending out three hundred thousand people or more into every corner of the world. To do what? To sow the seed of Nations. Every man of them that goes out is going to help establish the moral, the religious, the social, the political standards of the countries to which they go. Three hundred thousand a year. Never has there been anything like this in the world. To sow the seed of Nations! I say to my English audience, "What does that mean?" I got hold of an illustration the other day which I have used in addressing an English audience, one of a very penetrating kind. I live up near Reading, on the Thames, where some of the great seed-growers have their business. "Do you ever," I said, "notice what these great seed-growers put as the first line in their advertisements: 'All seeds tested before they are sent out.' " Imagine the responsibility of a nation that above all others of the world is sowing the seed of new nations on new continents. There is yet another aspect of the matter. That same nation has to maintain in India 150,000 people, of whom 75,000 are soldiers and 75,000 civilians. These soldiers and civilians are among three hundred millions, and every man of them has to stand for English civilization and English christianity. Where do they come from? Out of the little English villages, out of the slums of the English cities and the crowded centres of industry in England. Again, in every port English ships form perhaps seventy-five per cent. of all there are. England has 250,000 sailors going to every port in the world, and there they too have to stand for the civilization and the christianity of England. I have said to English audiences, that if there is anything in the world that gives dignity to the work of the poorest schoolmaster or humblest clergyman in this country of England, it is the possibility that the boys who have received their training under him may some day be standing in the remotest parts of the Empire to represent what the nation stands for. I do not think I ever felt more deeply on any subject than on this when I have tried to impress upon English people the wonderful range of opportunity given to them to fulfil high responsibilities and obligations in this way. If anything should inspire them to new activity and new effort it is that thought.

But there is another side to the question. Let me give you an illustration. I was in Boston last week. I was told by an educational man there with whom I was talking that to-day in that old representative New England State more than seventy per cent. of the population were foreign born, or the sons of foreign born. That was the old Puritan State of Massachusetts. That experience is being repeated in many parts of the United States, and while I almost stand aghast at the vast burden that is being put on our British Empire by having to deal with three or four hundred millions of other races in different parts of the world, I don't know but what, if I were an American citizen, I would be still more staggered with the problem of having to assimilate a million a year of the people that pour especially from the great Mediterranean and other regions—Poles, Bulgarians, Greeks, Italians, and other countries of Europe. Now, we in Canada and in the Colonies are to a degree face to face with a problem somewhat of the same kind. In the future we shall have to assimilate not only the tested or untested seeds that come to us from Great Britain, but also vast numbers of people untrained to political self-government, untrained to our ideas of social and religious life, and who have to be brought in some way up to the standard of those political, commercial, and religious conceptions which have made our race what it is, have given it its influence and strength in the world, and on which the future of our nation and of our race depends. That again, is a responsibility which is as great, it seems to me, as that almost of the Mother Land. It has hurt me lately when I have been travelling through the West where large populations of foreigners have gone in, to find in contested elections that the first introduction of the immigrant to the ideals of British Government comes sometimes through the temptation to sell his vote. At any rate this is true if what one sees in the leading papers of the country are true. Few countries in the world have had such an opportunity of setting a high example as Canada has in that particular.

I have been travelling lately through many parts of the United States. An anxious people are those of the United States to-day. They find that the methods of government which they have relied upon and which have served their purposes in the past are breaking down under the weight of pressure put upon them. They are looking with interest to our British countries to see what we are doing and how we accomplish our purposes. Two years ago four of the great Universities in the west asked me to give a course of lectures to their political students on the management of our great British Empire. They were anxious to find out how the British people were working out the problems of self-government, and how it was they secured effect for the will of the people so much more easily than is done in the

United States. I do not hesitate to say that if Canada could give, on this Continent, an example of uncorrupt self-government it would have a more profound effect on our American neighbours than any other influence that could be brought to bear upon them. They admire already our Judicial system, but we want to add to that a political purity which would make every individual citizen of Canada feel that to sell his vote was to sell his soul. If we can have that, Canada with her increasing millions of people will have an immense moral influence on this Continent. What is the responsibility, then, that comes under my second division, that of these great Dominions? It is that we must make the most of the great institutions we have inherited from the Mother Land. We must not let them degenerate, we must show them at their best, and show that we are resolved to make our political system as pure as possible. That will lift up these people who come to us to the highest idea of political and public life they can have. The same is true of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other Colonies.

Now let me turn aside to the other vast problem, which is thrust upon one as he travels around the Empire. We are responsible—our British peoples—for millions of the weaker races. It is no use for Canadians to think that off in this section of the world we can shirk the responsibility of the race. We are, on the Pacific, coming already face to face with these hundreds of millions of Asia; we are going to be in touch with them; we are just as much involved in their future as people in the British Isles. If we try to shirk our responsibilities, we are unworthy of the race from which we are sprung or the blood that flows within us. (Applause)

Let me give you an illustration of how we are responsible for these hundreds of millions of the weaker races of the world. Two years ago I had to go and practically circumnavigate the continent of Africa. I went down the east coast, got into Rhodesia, went down through the centre of the country, and then came back on the west side, and as I did so I watched the map of that country. Up the Nile a railway is being built up to Khartoum and beyond it. On the east coast the railway is being driven right into the heart of the Continent; from the Cape it extends nearly 2,000 miles, and in various other directions the country is being opened up. What does that mean? It means that our English people in their eagerness for commerce and money-making are driving their way right into the heart of some scores of millions of the black races of the world, races which hitherto have only known the presence of men they respected, missionaries and administrators who had a deep sense of responsibility; but now make acquaintance with the greedy trader and drunken navvy or miner? Do you think we can shirk our responsibility to those millions of people there? Not a bit of it! I have told people in England that a man ought not to be allowed to go to South Africa unless he is a man of strong moral purpose. Go to Johannesburg and you will find in the mines about two hundred thousand natives drawn from all parts of Africa to pick up the vices of our race and then to be thrown back among their own people.

Look at this problem from the educational side. You know the trouble with the negro is that he wants an idle life, wants to work just as little as he can; he does not want, at least in his native state, to do a thing more than he can possibly help. I merely mention this as an illustration of the kind of educational problem we meet there. I was in South Africa a while ago and I went to Lovedale, where there is the great institution which some of you have heard of, where they have several hundreds of coloured young men and women drawn from the very heart of Africa. There were among them the children of many of the great chiefs. After I had looked around the place all day, the principal with whom I was staying asked me if I would mind addressing them. I don't think I ever felt more perplexed in my life than when I went to address these men. The hall was packed with several hundreds of these black faces looking up at me, absolutely impassive but with open ears and eyes to hear what I had to say. I took the Gospel of Work for my text. I said: "You have come here to get our civilization and you see sowing-machines, reapingmachines, steamboats, railways, and engines. Every one of these things represents not only men who got up early in the morning and worked until late at night during their lives, but this work has gone on for generation after generation, and every one of these products of civilization is the result of generations of people who took everything out of themselves to produce these things. I know of no other way in which you can get it; it is by working morning, noon, and night." (Laughter) I went away not knowing at all whether I had even reached their thoughts, but six months later one of the professors from Lovedale stepped into my office in London, and the first remark he made to me was, "Dr. Parkin, we got more manual labour out of our fellows at Lovedale the first fortnight after you were there than we ever got before."

That is an illustration of the kind of thing we have to deal with. The problem in South Africa is infinitely greater than that of India. In India you have ancient religions that fill the people's mind, ancient industries that keep them busy, and you have their literature; but in South Africa you have many millions of people whom we have known for two or three hundred years, not one of whom ever wrote a book, invented a machine, or did anything that pointed in the way of civilization, and we are making ourselves responsible for them. It is an immense and difficult task.

Now, let me say that we have got to turn on these problems the strength of our race, and I ask you people in Canada to think upon these great questions. One thing has struck me much in a trip which I have just made from Halifax to Vancouver. I have been in the railway trains, in the hotels, and elsewhere, meeting a wide range of people, but it is quite extraordinary how seldom, in the western part of this Continent, at the present time you meet with any one who talks of anything but dollars. It is striking and it is ominous. I don't hesitate to say it is ominous for our young people to grow up in an atmosphere where the dollar reigns supreme. But there are redeeming features even in what people have come to characterize as a materialistic age. It is that, but I find consolations in it. Have you noticed that the men who have piled up their millions, when they come to spend them, get the assistance of those who never knew how to put together ten thousand dollars? Mr. Rockefeller with his oil, Mr. Carnegie with his steel, and Mr. Rhodes with his diamonds, and many others, have done this. They never hand their money over to other millionaires to manage. Mr. Carnegie has given my friend Dr. Pritchett many millions of dollars to handle as a pension fund, and with that fund he is working out a marked development in the colleges and universities of the United States. He has handed over other millions to another comparatively poor friend to spend on Scottish education. Mr. Stanford handed over thirty millions of dollars to another educational friend for his great institution in California and left him with a free hand to spend it as he thought best for the cause of education. What I say is this: that the only thing money is worth working for is when it is going to be used for some high end. You remember what Mr. Rhodes said to General Gordon. General Gordon wanted him to join him in managing the Soudan. Rhodes said, "No, I am going to stay here and make money." "Why," said Gordon? "Well," said Rhodes, "what is the use of having big ideas without you have money to work them out?"

I have had to speak within the last year or two to many thousands of American students. I have said to them: "By all means work for money; put all your energies into it, make all you can, but be sure you have the big idea to start with."

The conclusion I have come to in passing from one end of Canada to another is that no young country in the world ever had before it a greater opportunity or a grander future than this country has. I believe that it is due partly to the races which we started with, partly with conditions of nature; our stern climate is going to squeeze out the unfit and keep them away; it is going to bring to us the hardy races of the north. We should inherit the virtues and characteristics of the best races of the world. The opportunity is immense, and you will only make the most of it by facing also the great educational, moral, philanthropic, and social problems of the world; taking your part in the great duties of the world; not selling your souls entirely for the dollar; but if you make the dollar, resolve every dollar shall be worked for all it is worth to make Canada better and greater in the higher sense.

Let me apply that to the whole of the Empire. I have studied the Empire in a great many directions. I have had occasion to speak in most parts of it on its educational, commercial, political, and other problems, and I have come to this conclusion, that while questions of political reform, of naval and military defence, of finance, of tariff, of trade and commerce and communications must play a very important part in the development and consolidation of the British Empire, that there is something higher still that will prove a greater cement than any of these, and that is the acceptance by our British people of the high place that God seems to have intended they shall play in the world, that they shall acknowledge the educational and moral responsibilities laid upon them. If we can get the great Mother Land, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and the other Colonies all united in a strong resolve that the responsibilities of the Empire shall be fully met and that we shall deal conscientiously with the great social, religious, and political problems of this vast mass of people given once to our care; if we train our people to public service and make them willing to give their lives in that service, not merely on the battlefield, but their lives and their life's effort, give their unselfish effort for the highest good of the communities in which they live,—if we can get our people to do that, the future of this British Empire may be infinitely greater than the thousand years of glorious history it has had in the past. (Prolonged applause)

IMPERIALISTIC CANADA

An Address by Lt.-Col. Fred. W. MacQueen, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 21, 1912

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am indeed grateful, Mr. President, for the honour conferred upon me of being invited and permitted to address you on this occasion. The subject of my talk is "Imperialistic Canada."

Never before have the eyes of humanity been enlightened by the sight of a world power built upon freedom. Rome never conceived, much less ever attempted, such a consummation, and none but Rome has ever possessed the resources for its attainment; none, that is to say, until the birth of the conscious, imperial intelligence of Greater Britain. Within the ample orbit of this new star in the political firmament there are to be found the twin essentials of permanent human progress. On the one hand is the gigantic power of the allied empires annually growing in scope and majesty and capable of being turned with irresistible force against any endeavour to fling humanity back towards the ape, the tiger, and the despot. On the other hand is the complete, internal freedom of these immense democracies endowed with the capacity of continuous adjustment to environment, which is the prime condition of prosperity and happiness in every organism. External power and internal freedom are the attributes of political immortality, and Britain as she confronts the twentieth century, has grasped them both and is completely conscious of her conquests.

For lo! the kingdoms wax and wane,
They spring to power and pass again
  And ripen to decay;
But Britain, sound in hand and heart
Is worthy still to play her part
  To-day, as yesterday.

Nor till her age-long task is o'er
To Thee, O God, may she restore
The Sceptre and the Crown;
Nor then shall die but live anew
In those fair daughter lands that drew
Their life from hers, and shall renew
In them her old renown.

Now, as Canada is one of those fair daughter lands which drew her life from hers, and as this Dominion is the greatest of all the British possessions and one third in area of her Empire, let us for a few moments look at the peculiar imperialistic features of Canada of the past, the present, and the future.

Canada was born to the French in 1535. She was born to the British in 1759 through that glorious victory of Wolfe's on the Plains of Abraham. In 1791 the then two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada were separated by an Act of Parliament, each province to have its own Parliament. They were re-united in 1841 and as union is strength, so it was with those two provinces; and out of the fogs and mists of those days appear the forms and faces of that noble band of men known as the "Fathers of Confederation." Canada received her baptism of fire on many battle-fields, but she was not christened and did not receive her name until 1867. On the first day of July, 1867, she received her name, the "Dominion of Canada," and from that day to the present time those provinces coming into Confederation have been growing by leaps and bounds and adding to themselves other provinces, until to-day we have, I hope I may say, a united and unrivalled Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Previous to Confederation we had no national spirit. We were then intensely British without realizing that we could be, at the same time, intensely Canadian. After Confederation this was changed, and I believe this great change was caused not only by the lives of those great men, the "Fathers of Confederation," but especially by the lives of two great men and their great works. Of these two great men, one was the greatest statesman Canada has ever had, and the other was the greatest diplomat of the nineteenth century. The great statesman was the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald and of the great works he performed one was bringing into life that great policy known as the "National Policy," a Policy that aroused our sleeping towns and villages till to-day many of them are veritable hives of manufacturing and commercial industry. Another great work was bringing to completion the building of that great Imperial highway, that transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific. You who were living in those days know that those in opposition to the building of that railway were legion, and one of the leaders of the Opposition made the statement, "that that railway would never pay for the grease on the axles." I have only to draw your attention to the fact that to-day we have two other great companies building their transcontinental railways, and when those roads are finished, finished mark you, they will still be inadequate owing to the great development of this country. I look upon every tie in the Canadian Pacific, not as an ordinary, common, dusty, railway tie, but a tie and a bond between province and province, till we, as Canadians stand, figuratively speaking, on the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific with our hands outstretched to welcome and encourage our brethren from all parts of the British Empire.

The great diplomat of the nineteenth century was that grand Irishman who came out to Canada in the year 1872 as our Governor-general, Lord Dufferin. Most of the time he was in Canada he spent in going about from one section of the country to another breathing into Canadians, as it were, a new national spirit. Filled with an optimistic spirit himself, and realizing the great future of this country, he endeavoured to awaken in Canadians a sense of their responsibilities and inspire them with his own confidence in their future. He was the first Governor-general who ever visited our great North-west. He went to Winnipeg in 1875, and while there he gave an address under the auspices of the Manitoba Club. I would like to give you part of that address for the purpose of showing you the optimistic manner in which he spoke of this great country. Winnipeg, at that time, had a population of about five thousand. Speaking of Canada in general and Manitoba in particular, he said:

> On account of your geographical position and your peculiar characteristics, Manitoba may be regarded as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister Provinces which spans the Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is here where Canada, emerging from her woods and forests first gazed upon her rolling prairies and her unexplored North-west and learned as by a sudden inspiration that her historical territories of Canadas, her eastern seaboard of New Brunswick, Labrador, and Nova Scotia, her Laurentian lakes, hills and valleys, corn-fields and pastures, though in themselves more extensive than half-a-dozen European Kingdoms, were but the vestibule and the ante-chamber for that great undreamt-of North-west, whose unlimited resources alike confound the arithmetic of the surveyor and the verification of the explorer. It was hence that, counting her past achievements as but the preface and prelude to future exertions and expanding destinies, she took upon herself a new departure, received the afflatus of a more Imperial inspiration, and felt herself no longer a mere settler on the banks of a single river, but the owner of half a continent, and in the magnitude of her possessions, in the wealth of her resources, in the sinews of her maternal might, the peer of any power on this earth.

Now that is the manner in which Lord Dufferin breathed into Canadians that new spirit which exhibited itself with wonderful force in the battle-fields of the second North-West Rebellion of 1885, and I think I can say that the back-bone of that Rebellion was broken when the western prairie sun shone on the bayonets of those loyal Canadians in their final charge at the Battle of Batoche, and that spirit exhibited itself with even greater force on the veldts of South Africa. I think the great Imperial feature of that war has been somewhat overlooked, and if I may be allowed to illustrate my own words, I would put it this way. Previous to the Battle of Paardeberg, there was a very old, a very well-known, and a very reliable firm doing business under the name and style of "John Bull and Co., Limited." After the Battle of Paardeberg that old sign was taken down. It has been replaced by a new sign, very much painted in red, and that new sign to-day reads, "John Bull, Sons & Company, Consolidated." The stock of that company went up out of sight, but we, as Canadians, did not require to purchase any. Why? Because it had already been bought, purchased, and paid for with the blood of those loyal Canadians in the trenches of South Africa.

In 1903, I heard a very eloquent Canadian in a very eloquent speech make this statement: "That when the history of the Nineteenth Century would be written, there would be one great nation and one great power particularly mentioned." He said the nation would be the United States, and the power would be steam. He went on to say that when the history of the Twentieth Century would be written, there would also be one great nation and one great power particularly mentioned; the nation would be Canada, the power electricity. Remember the year 1903. In 1905 a new Government came into power in the Province of Ontario. It seems to me that this new Government has been endeavouring not only to electrify but to enlighten the cities, towns, and villages of this Province. Within four years you saw the Niagara harnessed, and the cities, towns, and villages for 150 miles west of Niagara Falls, not only electrified but enlightened by that wonderful power, by, and through, the medium of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission. To-day, that Commission is conserving other water-ways, and it seems to me that if the people of this Province are loyal to this Government and this Government is loyal to the people, the time is coming when this Province of Ontario will become, not only the manufacturing centre of this Dominion, but of this Continent, and even to-day I think we can say and realize the beautiful words written by a Canadian poet:

Four nations welded into one,
  With long historic past,
Have found in these our Western wilds
  A common life at last.

Through the young giant's mighty limbs,
That stretch from sea to sea,
There runs a throb of conscious life,
Of waking energy.

From Nova Scotia's misty coast,
To far Columbia's shore,
She waits, a band of scattered homes
And colonies no more,
But a young nation with her life
Full beating in her breast,
A glorious future in her eyes,
The Britain of the West.

The "Britain of the West," that sounds all right. Let us see if we can improve on that. Many of you may have noticed on taking up your daily papers the last few years, the increasing number of titled people from the old lands who have been visiting our Dominion. Later on, you have noticed by the same papers that these people have been returning home, that they have purchased large tracts of land in some one of our fair Provinces, and that they are going to return.

Now, let us see what it means to the Old Country, to Canada, and to these people themselves. We all know that one of the great troubles and curses of the old lands in the past has been that too many broad acres are owned by too few landlords. Now, these people coming to Canada and purchasing large tracts of land will, no doubt, go home. They will place thousands of acres of their own land in the Old Country on the market. They will, no doubt, keep their ancestral homes and a few acres about them, but by placing this land on the market, they will be helping to solve one of the great troubles in the past; and by coming to Canada and bringing their ancestral trees with them, their wealth, their education, and their intelligence, they will be the best class of people we can possibly get hold of. By coming to Canada—a young, growing, expanding, and developing country—they themselves will both expand and develop. So in a few years this Canada of ours will not be known as the "Empire of the West," so depicted by the poet, but will become, on account of our geographical position in the Empire, on account of our peculiar, loyal instincts not the "Britain of the West," but the heart and centre of a *greater empire than has been.*

I come to another phase.

To the south of us is the greatest republic the world has ever seen, with a population of some 95,000,000 of people. In the northern zone we have the Dominion of Canada, population in round figures, 7,500,000. In area we are 111,992 square miles greater than the United States, counting Alaska, and we are backed up by the greatest Empire the world has ever known. With an area of over 12,000,000 square miles, and a population of over 410,000,000 of people, sharers in such a realm, heirs to such vast and varied privileges, we, as Canadians, need not be ashamed. Between these two countries is a border line three thousand miles in length, 1,400 miles of this border line is made up of our beautiful lakes and rivers, the other 1,600 miles is an imaginary line.

I presume that if every one here had been living in the years 1775 and 1776, we would have been holding up our hands in holy horror at the idea of the New England States cutting themselves away from Britain. Is there a man in this audience to-day who would blame the Americans for having done what they did on that occasion, and if you blame any one, would it not be the politicians who managed affairs in the Old Country at that time? It seems to me that nowhere in modern history can we find an example of the peculiar and mysterious workings of a Divine Providence better exemplified than in the relations between these two countries. Well, our neighbours became a Republic, and on account of their becoming a Republic, those people in foreign lands of Europe who were antagonistic to monarchial rule, to the Anglo-Saxon race, or to British rule, poured into the United States by their thousands. What did the United States do in their wisdom? They had, figuratively speaking, in every port of the United States, a wonderful piece of machinery, and as these people washed through that machinery, they came out on the other side speaking what—the English language, and to-day you have 95,000,000 of people to the south of us with only one known, one recognized, and one official language, and that language English. Now, what does that mean to us in the future? Well, if it means anything, and if we can read the writing on the wall, and I think we can, it means that the time is coming when the Union Jack of Britain and the Old Glory of the United States will be tied together in a knot, and that knot a love knot, and when all the English-speaking races of this world will be marching together under those two banners in one solid phalanx for all that is good and for all that is right.

Now, what is our peculiar duty as Canadians, as a great link in the chain of Empire that encircles the world, our link being placed opposite this great Republic. I think our duty is a very simple one and can be answered in four words, "Mind our own business." The Americans have their great problems to work out, but have not we in Canada our great problems, and is there any one here who will say that there will not be greater? Then, if we have these problems, let us be men and face them and play the game. Let us be men, and as righteousness exalteth a nation, let us have a righteous nation and exalt ourselves.

There are two great lessons we can learn from the great Republic. One refers to language, and the other to the flag. As to the language, I do not know what is contained in the Treaty of Paris, in the Acts of 1791 and 1841, or The British North America Act, but if there is anything in the Treaty or Acts whereby we have allowed our French-Canadian brethren the use of the French language in Canada, let us be men and let us live up to our agreements, let us see to it that in no other province of this Dominion will there be more than one official language, and that English. As to the flag, it seems to me that our American cousins magnify their flag to such an extent that the foreigners going into their country in a few months learn to love that flag and forget that there ever was any other in existence.

Now, what are we Canadians doing in regard to our flag? The Honourable the Minister of Education for Ontario performed a splendid act when he had all our rural schools presented with a flag. But what are our great patriotic clubs, our Empire and Canadian Clubs doing in regard to the flag? I have been at many meetings of these Clubs where I have never seen a flag. It seems to me that all our patriotic institutions could well take a page from out of that noble order of women known as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. In every Chapter of this Order they have what is known as a *standard-bearer.* It is the duty of that standard-bearer to place the flag in front of the Regent at every meeting, and after the meeting to take care of the flag until the next meeting.

I once heard an eloquent professor of the University of Toronto in addressing the Canadian Club of Woodstock make this statement: He said that times were always changing, that a few years ago the Christian people of Europe and America were praying that the great wall in China might be cast down. He said, to-day, figuratively speaking, that wall has been cast down, and these same Christian people are praying that we might be able to build up a wall to keep the Chinese out. But you can't do it. He drew our attention to the fact that owing to the unrest in Europe, and there is more unrest to-day than there was then, that hundreds of thousands of foreigners would be flocking to America, and Canada would get her share. He thought we should do all in our power to assimilate these people, and he would suggest the proper way to do it would be to meet them with the Bible in our hands. I quite agree with that learned professor, but I want to add something. Let us by all means meet these people with the Bible in one hand, but in the other let us carry the flag of our country, and let us teach these people, not only to love our God, but to honour our King, and then we shall have done our duty. The time will come when these foreigners, and their children, and their children's children will say, in those beautiful words of Ruth: "Thy people shall be my people and thy God my God."

In conclusion, lately at the call to arms to assist our Mother Country in an hour in which our aid was of moment, there was just what always will be, and let the world take knowledge of it, in spite of local differences and dissensions, there was a united Canada pouring forth her treasure and her best hearts' blood to maintain the honour of the British Crown and the supremacy of British rule. This has taught us that we can rise superior to local dissensions and party differences. Let us in the future be no fomenters of, or participants in, any source of conduct that may separate or wound, but let us go forth, each of us, to do our best, to have a united Canada and a united Empire, without regard to race or religion, tribe or tongue. Let us in the future, as in the past, follow the example of the Romans of old, so beautifully described by Macaulay, where he says:

Romans in Rome's quarrel,
  Spared neither land nor gold,
Nor son nor wife, nor limb nor life,
  In the brave days of old.
Then none were for a party
  Then all were for the state
Then the great man helped the poor
  And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned,
  Then spoils were fairly sold,
Then Romans were like brothers
  In the brave days of old.

Now those lines were on a very ancient theme, "ancient Rome." Lately, I read lines by a Canadian poet, and though he was no friend of mine, I reverence his patriotic ideas where he says:

Instil in our little children,
  As they learn to write and read,
Less of the modern teachings,
  Which tend to graft and greed,
Preach to them love of country
  And less of the love of gold,
Give them the noble maxim,
  Of what we have, we hold.
Ceasing your cant and snivel,
  What is your snivelling worth,
If you leave unkempt, unguarded,
  The lordliest land on earth.

Let me ask you, gentlemen, as you leave this hall today, to go forth in national affairs as patriots rather than as party politicians, banded together to make this land, this Imperialistic Canada of ours, this land of the Maple Leaf, this land we love so well, a veritable garden, beautiful to look upon, and delightful to dwell in.

ONTARIO'S PLACE IN THE EMPIRE

An Address by the HONOURABLE W. H. HEARST, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 28, 1912

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am sure I feel highly honoured in having the privilege of addressing this audience to-day. One would always feel it an honour to have the privilege of addressing a body of representative citizens in this great city of Toronto, but the honour is doubly enhanced when one is permitted to address members of a Club having for its purpose the aims and objects of your Club. I cannot understand anything that is more important at the present time than the bringing before the people of the Empire their duty to the Empire; particularly is this so in a young country like Canada. There is nothing to my mind that is of more importance than to educate properly the people as to their duty and the high destiny of Canada in working out Empire problems, as in the Providence of God it is intended they should be worked out. I am sure I must thank you for your kind words of introduction; and from what you have said of my duties as a Minister of the Crown, I think that the gentlemen here will appreciate the claims that are made upon my time and will understand and excuse me, if my remarks this afternoon are not as collected and not as concrete as they should be.

You have been told that I spoke a week or so ago to the Canadian Club. The subject I then took was Northern Ontario and its relationship to the whole Province. When I gave the subject for my address which I did to your Club, I had not in mind speaking so near to this date to another Club composed of gentlemen, many of whom are members of this Club. I otherwise, perhaps, might have given you a different subject, but I will try as far as possible to give new matter to-day and not tramp over the same ground I did before the Canadian Club.

I am sure we all this afternoon feel what a great heritage we possess in being subjects of the great British Empire—an Empire unique in its possibilities, unique in its resources, and standing among the nations of the earth in all that makes for good citizenship, for freedom, for righteousness, and for the welfare of mankind. Thinking of that great asset this afternoon, what shall we say of that great Empire whose standard is righteousness, whose path is duty, an Empire upon which the sun never sets, that has covered the habitable globe with her outposts and possessions, the red coats of whose soldiers are seen in every land and every clime, and whose ships are seen upon every sea, an Empire to which even Imperial Rome in the height of her glory as a colonizing power was not to be compared, an Empire of which it has well been said that her morning drum-beats following the sun and keeping company with the hours, fill the whole world with the martial airs of Old England we all love so well? As Canadians such is the legacy that we possess, such is the heritage that belongs to us as British subjects, but not only have we the heritage of citizenship in that great Empire, but we have the protection of the grand old Flag that is so dear to you and to me, that Flag that has always stood for freedom, for honour, for righteousness, that has never stood for oppression, of which it has been said in a way far better than I can tell you otherwise:

It's only a small piece of bunting,
  It's only an old coloured rag;
Yet thousands have died for its honour,
  And shed their best blood for the flag.

You may say it's an old bit of bunting,
  You may call it an old coloured rag;
But freedom has made it majestic,
  And time has ennobled our flag.

You sometimes hear at the present day that Great Britain is becoming decadent; you sometimes hear it said she is not keeping her place in the forward march of progress among the nations of the world, and I am afraid perhaps in this day of haste and hurry, in this age where the Almighty dollar seems to be King, we do not often enough sit down and think of what the Old Land herself is doing and the pace she is keeping among the nations of the world, and I will trouble you this afternoon to bear with me while we go over some statistics that perhaps may be of interest to us on this subject. Let us look at the area of this Empire, over twelve millions of square miles, consisting of twenty-one per cent. of the whole earth's surface, and that is exclusive of both Egypt and the Soudan. That territory is divided as follows: in Europe, 125,079; in Asia, 1,899,000; in Africa, 2,518,000; in Australia, 3,175,000; in America, including the West Indies, 4,023,000 square miles.

Now, let us look at her population. You will find that the population of the Empire is over 410,000,000 of people, over one fifth of all the inhabitants of the globe. The Empire exceeds all the nations of the past and all the nations of the present in point of population, and see the progress we are making and have made in comparatively recent years, both in the extension of territory and population. You will find, on the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, the area of the Empire was only 7,255,350 square miles and the population only 31,712,000. Thus you see the grand old Empire has been extending her borders and increasing her population with leaps and bounds during the years that have gone by.

Next, let us look at her trade for a moment. We find that the United Kingdom exported manufactured goods in 1910, valued at $1,914,000,000. Take the total trade of the Empire in 1851 and you will find it amounted to $1,998,000,000; in 1866 this was increased to $5,395,000,000; and in the year 1910 it had reached the splendid total of $8,000,000,000, of which the United Kingdom alone furnished $6,100,000,000.

The Empire controls through London a great part of the money wealth of the world, and you can understand and appreciate the influence the Empire with its great area, with its great population, with its magnificent trade, is bound to exert the wide world over.

Further, look at her marine and see what progress she has made in that connection. We find the carrying power of the ships of the world in the year 1820 amounted to 3,000,000 tons, in 1881 to 20,000,000, in 1911 to 41,000,000 tons, and of this tonnage the Empire furnished over 19,000,000 or nearly one half of the whole tonnage of the world.

Let us look for a moment at what the Old Land has been doing in the matter of immigration and how that is affecting Canada and the other parts of the Empire. You will find from the year 1880 to 1889 sixty-seven per cent. of the British immigrants went to the United States. During the next ten years following the dates I have given you, I am glad to say only forty-seven per cent. of that immigration went to the United States, while in 1910, fifty-seven per cent. of the immigration from the United Kingdom came to the Colonies, and principally to our own fair Dominion of Canada. From the year 1900 to 1906, Australia and New Zealand secured less than 700 immigrants from the Old Land, but in the year 1909 they secured 20,000 and in the year 1910, 25,000. So that you see what is rapidly coming about is what we as citizens have desired, namely, that the people from the Old Land are coming to the Colonies and remaining with the Empire, and instead of sapping the strength of the Old Land are helping to develop her outposts and Colonies and helping to make that Empire, great as she has been in the days gone by, greater and grander still.

Look at the position of Great Britain as a colonizing power, compared with Germany and other powers similarly situated. A Briton can leave the Old Land and go to any other part of the world he wishes; he can find any kind of climate he wants, any sort of resources that the world knows of to develop; he can find any form of free Government; but he does not need to leave the old flag, and he can claim the benefit of its protection still. Instead of weakening that nation from which he came, instead of weakening the influence of that Empire, if he is a good British citizen, he becomes a fresh source of life and strength and hope to the new land to which he immigrates and helps to plant in that country the splendid principles of the Old Land—the principles of British institutions, fair play, and honest dealing that is so characteristic of the race from which he comes.

Let us think generally of that Empire and what she has done before I leave off speaking of it. Think of the influence she has been in educating and emancipating and helping to uplift the world. It has been well said of her that she is the greatest secular influence for good that the world has ever seen. That being so what shall we say of her status and position in the days and years that are to come? Let us look from that view-point and let us consider your duty and mine as Canadians in connection therewith. Take the population of Great Britain at the present time, about 45,000,000; and take her area, about 121,410 square miles. Look at her comparatively small population and comparatively small area, and then look at the great Republic to the south of us, and what do we find? A population of nearly 100,000,000 of people with an area of over 3,000,000 square miles. What is the future of Great Britain going to be, compared with the great and ambitious and progressive Republic to the south? In the days to come will it be possible for Great Britain to hold her own in the commercial struggle and, generally, with that nation to the south? Fond as we are of the Old Land, much as we believe in the dominance of the English race, and all they have achieved in the past, and all they are capable of achieving in the future, I doubt if any of us have the hardihood to say that Great Britain could do it alone, but thank Heaven she does not need to stand alone, the power and might and future of the Empire is linked up with the Colonies; she can continue not only to hold her own but to dominate the world. Not only is that so in a commercial sense, not only is that so in a geographical sense, but it is so in every other sense as well. There are none of us so young but that we can well remember the unhappy days of the South African War. That unfortunate time, as it then seemed for Old England, was a blessing in many respects to the Empire; for a new nation practically was born on the veldt in South Africa. When Great Britain seemed to stand alone among the jealous nations of Europe, she was not alone; for the first growl from the old lion brought to her assistance the whelps from across the seas, and the nations of the world learned that in the future they would have to fight, not Great Britain alone, but the Colonies from one end of the Empire to the other. And so in those days we had the magnificent spectacle of the Canadians and Australians and New Zealanders fighting shoulder to shoulder with the war-scarred veterans of the Old Land, and some falling, and some falling to die, that Britain's Imperial Flag might wave over this grand old Empire of ours. In view of these facts I ask what is the position of Canada in that great Empire? She is the most important factor in the future of that Empire; and if that Empire is to do what she ought to for the welfare of the world, for the civilization of mankind, and for uplifting the standards of righteousness, Canada will have to play a great part, I believe the predominating part, in our Empire history.

Then, let us look at what Canada is, at her area, at her resources, at her possibilities, at what she has already accomplished, and perhaps we can get a better idea of how well she is equipped to discharge the high task that I believe in the Providence of God she is called upon to perform in the connection I have mentioned. Look at the area of the Dominion, 3,729,665 square miles; it is larger than the United States, including Alaska, by over 100,000; it equals eighteen Germanys, is as large as twenty Spains, and has a sea-coast alone of over 12,000 miles, nearly half the circumference of the globe. From east to west she is 3,000 miles, from north to south practically 1,500 miles. We have unexplored territory of 1,000,000 square miles; Ungava and Franklin themselves are larger than China. The Dominion of Canada extends over forty degrees of latitude, as far as from Rome to the North Pole. Our population is only about 1.93 to the square mile, while England and Wales is 558 to the square mile. We are thirty-three per cent. of the area of the whole Empire, although we have only about one and one third per cent. of the Empire's population. Look at our immense area. You will grasp that better when you stop to think that it is farther from Halifax to Vancouver than from Halifax to Liverpool. At Confederation we were simply a few scattered Provinces and Territories, without any aims, purposes, or ambitions in common. We had the east, the middle west, and British Columbia. What are we to-day, less than half a century since Confederation took place? We are a united country, a nation extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bound together not only by bands of steel, but by a common ambition, a common purpose, a common ideal, to make this fair Dominion of Canada the finest and best nation that God's sun has ever shone upon. Think of what has been accomplished in that time. We have already, as I have mentioned, linked the Atlantic to the Pacific with bands of steel, and at the time the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed it was perhaps the greatest undertaking any people of the size and wealth of Canada ever undertook; but that railway has long ceased to be sufficient, and we now have two other transcontinental railways rushing to tie the Atlantic to the Pacific, and more will follow in the future. Who can tell the number of transcontinental railways in the next twenty-five or fifty years that will be necessary to carry the products of the east to the west and of the west to the east, and to afford the necessary facilities for transportation! These are some of the things that we have accomplished.

Let us look from another standpoint at the advantages and opportunities for the development of Canada in the years that are to come, particularly in comparison with other countries that have products somewhat similar to what Canada has. Take the position of Canada in relation to the great consuming population of Europe. From New Zealand to London the mails take from thirty days to forty days, from Australia to London from twenty-six to thirty-three days, from South Africa to London seventeen to twenty-three days, from South America to London seventeen to twenty-three days, from India to London fourteen to sixteen days, from Canada to London only seven to eight days, and the time required for the passage of mails shows the relative time required for the transportation of freight. This shows us the splendid position Canada occupies with reference to that great market, that great centre of commerce of the world, namely, Old London. Then, what have we beside that? Outside of Europe, probably China and Japan furnish the world's best markets, leaving out of consideration in a discussion of this kind the United States of America. These are easily accessible to the Dominion of Canada by direct ships. In other words Canada controls the Atlantic and the trade of Europe; she controls the Pacific and the trade of Asia; she stands midway between these two great markets, and has the greatest possible opportunity for supplying the wants of the people of these countries.

Let us look at Canada's progress from still another standpoint. At Confederation we had a population of about 3,000,000; to-day we have over 7,000,000. In our population we have had twice the rate of increase during the last ten years that the great Republic to the south of us has had. Our trade in 1866 was approximately $131,000,000, now it is $700,000,000. Our increase in trade has been over fifty per cent. greater than that of the United States, and our trade per head is more than double that of the United States. Our railways are the wonder of the world, and not only have we these magnificent railways, but we have our magnificent water-ways that form such an important element in the development of any country. No country in the world is better situated in that regard than the Dominion of Canada. Our Dominion Government has done much in the past for the development of our water-ways, and in my humble opinion it is their duty in the future to do very much more. I hope in the near future to see ocean vessels going to the head of the Lakes. When we ponder on Canada's splendid resources, on her unique position, and what in a few years she has accomplished, we are led to ask what position will she take in the future history of the world! You know to the east Asia is wakening. The sceptre of the world's dominion was once there. It passed to Africa and then to Europe, perhaps the poorest in natural possessions and resources of any of the continents of the world. Is it going to remain there, or is it going to come to America? Is America to be the centre of the world's dominion and power in the years that are to come? If such should be the case, what would be the destiny of Canada? What is our duty as Canadians and Britons? To make Canada the great dominating influence in the Empire and in the world, the great civilizing force of the future.

Let us look for a moment at her productions. The field crop of Canada approximates $600,000,000. Her dairy products and fruit products are valued at tens of millions, her farm animals are numbered by the hundreds of millions, and her flocks and herds whiten a thousand hills, and yet only the surface of the agricultural possibilities of the Dominion of Canada has been touched. I am credibly informed that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway at one point has opened up a wheat-growing area of 1,000 miles long by 300 wide. Take the Province of Tobolsk in Siberia, the great wheat-growing Province of Russia, and superimpose it upon the map of Canada and you will find that it is entirely north, not only of the present wheat-growing area, but of the populated portions of the Dominion of Canada to-day. You will find we have a mill grinding "number one" wheat as far north of the International boundary as Mexico is south of it. You will find in looking at the richness and productiveness of our soil, as compared with other wheat-growing countries, that the average with them is less than ten bushels to the acre, while Canada's is practically double that.

But, we not only have these splendid agricultural resources, but we also have the other natural products that help to make up a nation. The mineral products of Canada in 1910 amounted to $105,000,000, an increase of over 500 per cent. in the last fifteen years. Important among our minerals are our deposits of iron and coal on the Atlantic and Pacific. Any person can easily understand the great basic source of wealth to a nation that a supply of iron affords, particularly when that supply is linked up with deposits of coal near at hand. What country could be better situated than Canada is in that connection? On the Atlantic you have iron and coal, and therefore you have the greatest impetus that possibly could be given to the steel industry; easy transportation by water, great opportunities for shipbuilding and for the launching of mighty steamers, not only for the ocean but for inland marine as well. This is also true on the Pacific, where again you have deposits of iron and coal and great opportunities for steel development. But Providence has been lavish in her bestowal of good gifts upon us; for not only have we these deposits on the Atlantic and Pacific, but we have immense deposits of iron tributary to the Great Lakes, furnishing another splendid opportunity for the development of steel industries. On the Great Lakes where we have our iron deposits, we have not the deposits of coal they have in the other places to which I referred, but, perhaps better still, we have an unlimited supply of white coal that use does not exhaust, and so we have ample power for development there as well.

Take our water powers that I have just spoken about—our inexhaustible supply of white coal. The Conservation Commission tells us that Canada has easily 26,000,000 horse-power. To produce this from coal would require 551,000,000 tons of coal per annum. But not only has Providence blessed us with fertile valleys with the richest soil for the production of agricultural products, with rich prairies for the production of the finest wheat in the world; not only has she studded our mountains with minerals of all kinds, from precious gold and silver to the baser and more useful iron and nickel; not only has she studded our valleys and highlands with magnificent timber from the tall pines to the stately elm, but she has filled our rivers and our lakes and oceans with fish, the finest that there are in the world, and you can understand and appreciate something of the importance of that product, when I tell you the fisheries of the Dominion in 1910 amounted to millions of dollars. I have spoken of Canada's forest products, but perhaps we can better understand the importance of these when I tell you that the forest products of the Dominion in the year 1910 amounted to $166,000,000—in other words to twenty-two dollars per head for every one of the inhabitants of the Dominion.

If you were shown a map of the earth's surface and asked to locate the position of a country, could you choose any better position than the Dominion of Canada occupies? Liverpool is nearer to Yokohama via Canada than via New York and San Francisco by some 2,600 miles. I have already pointed out to you the splendid position we occupy with reference to the markets east and west. Only think what then will be the position of Canada in the future with all these resources, with all her vitality, and with all her possibilities. I think that perhaps we will all agree that the civilization of the future must be the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon race, and I think it is within the bounds of possibility that the centre of that civilization will be the American Continent, and that this century will not have passed away until the Dominion of Canada will have as great a population as that of Great Britain herself; and so looking into your faces, men who have the interests of the Empire at heart, men who are anxious about the future, and men who love their country and love mankind, I say to no people was ever given such a high destiny and such a high calling as is given to us—to develop these resources, to develop the material we have, so that Canada not only will take a high place in the Empire, but take the place in the world that Providence intends she should take.

Let me just enlarge on that point a little. In the Old Land you have the conservative sober civilization of the people of that country; in the United States you have the other extreme, the aggressive—without meaning to be offensive at all—the flashlight civilization of the people there. The Dominion of Canada perhaps lies midway between the two, the great buffer between these two civilizations. With this buffer and with Canada true to high ideals, with her people true to the stock from which they have sprung, there will be no danger for the future but that a civilization will be worked out under the Providence of God in the way that is best for the welfare, happiness, and peace of the world.

But while Canada is great in her resources, while Canada is great in her area and possibilities, it is not on these things alone that we base our faith for Canada's future.

It is the character of her citizenship, it is her schools and places of learning for her men and women, her boys and girls, that are making Canada what she is, and what she is going to be in the days that are to come. Then how important it is for all of us to try to hold up high ideals and lofty purposes before the boys and girls of the land, with our opportunities, with our clear blue sky, and invigorating climate to breed men of dominance and power. With our great resources, with our rivers and mountains and lakes, with our magnificent scenery, and with the best blood of the Anglo-Saxon and kindred races in our veins, we should develop the greatest, the highest type of manhood that has ever been developed in the world. That I believe is the destiny of Canada.

What are the facts to-day? I ask you to look the wide world over, and I will pit the brains and ability of the type of manhood that Canada possesses against that of any other country in the world. I was talking not long ago to a friend of mine who has travelled the world over and who has made a study of the character and types of humanity in the different countries of the world, a gentleman in whose judgment I have the greatest confidence, and he, after having studied these different types of civilization, says there is no higher or better type than we have in our own country of Canada. I can pick out for you in Canada five men, and I defy you to pick out from any country on earth, five greater men or five men that have given more to the world.

Take it from whatever standpoint we may, if it is in the world of work, of commerce, of intellect, or in the shops or professions, or wherever it is, the sons of Canada have been able to hold their own wherever they have gone on this globe.

Not long ago in an American city a very eloquent American gentleman was responding to the toast of the United States, and he said: "I represent a magnificent country; it is bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis; it is bounded on the south by the Southern Cross; on the east by the rising sun, and on the west by the Day of Judgment." A more modest, if less eloquent Canadian, in connection with the same toast had to reply for the British Empire and he said: "It is lucky that I do not require so much eloquence as my friend who preceded me in responding for the British Empire. I represent an Empire that knows neither east nor west, but circumscribes the world. I belong to an Empire that has no western boundary, that has no eastern boundary, and so far as the Day of Judgment is concerned, we are such a righteous people that I doubt if there ever will be any for the British people."

Having said so much for the Empire and so much for Canada's place in it, then what is Ontario's place in the Empire? I have already spoken longer than I intended and I have only time to give you a word or two. Ontario is the banner Province of this fair Dominion; she is going ahead by leaps and bounds. And to-day she leads all the other Provinces in agricultural products, in minerals, in timber, and in every other respect. But a small portion of Ontario is as yet developed; we have only some 13,000,000 acres under cultivation; we have many times that number of acres to be developed. We are producing practically half of the field crops produced in the Dominion of Canada to-day, and yet we have only scratched the surface of our agricultural lands. We are producing one half of the mineral wealth of the Dominion of Canada, and we have scarcely commenced to develop Ontario's mineral lands. We are producing half the timber wealth of Canada, and we are only touching the fringe of our great timber wealth. The Province of Ontario will be the keystone in the arch of Confederation if she develops her heritage aright, as I believe she will in the future.

It has been said that the great weakness of Confederation, the great weakness in the development of Canada, was what has been looked upon as the barren stretch of territory from North Bay on the east to Manitoba on the west. That territory was thought for a long time to have no possibilities. That day has passed and gone, and with the mighty resources we have there, with the wealth of material we have for its development, that section is going to be one of the great industrial centres of the American continent in the near future.

The Province of Ontario has a high destiny. Take Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the east, they have their coal and iron; take British Columbia on the west, she has her timber, her minerals, and her beautiful scenery. Alberta has her coal and oil, her flocks and her herds; Manitoba and Saskatchewan have their millions of bushels of golden grain; but Ontario is the flower of them all. She possesses in a goodly degree all the resources of these different Provinces with the exception of coal, which is abundantly compensated for in her white coal; and so I say the true destiny of the Province of Ontario is to be the vitalizing force of the Dominion, cementing the different Provinces together as one nation. Ontario should not only be the geographical and commercial centre of Canada, but the intellectual centre as well. Coming to our doors day by day and year by year are tens and hundreds of thousands of people who do not know, who do not understand and appreciate British institutions and free British citizenship as we have it. It is the duty of this Province to teach these people along the lines of free institutions and along the lines of good Government. If the Dominion of Canada is to fulfil her great destiny, it becomes you and me as citizens of this banner Province to do our share in lifting up the type of civilization, in lifting up the ideals, in helping the education of those who come to our shores, so that they with us will join hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder in developing this great Dominion. Thus shall we all strengthen the Empire and help in the up-building of the human race, and the benefiting of mankind. That duty I believe we will discharge in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the British people.

Sail on Dominion broad and great;
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
In spite of rock, and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!

THE DELINQUENT

An Address by Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Warden of the Central Prison, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 5, 1912

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I appreciate very much the kindly interest that the Empire Club has taken in our work from the fact that they have done me the honour to ask me to come here today. Without any apology I shall talk "shop." One reason why people succeed who mind their own business is because they have so little competition. Some sage or cynic, I leave you to say which, has divided society into three parts: Those who have been in prison, those who will be in prison, and those who should be in prison. There is not the slightest need for anxiety. I am not here to discriminate.

One day a labourer was working on the streets near by a prison and a prisoner looked out between the bars and inquired the time. The labourer paid no attention to him until the prisoner repeated the question two or three times, when the labourer turned and said: "What do you want to know for, you ain't going anywhere." That story carries a sting with it, for it represents to a considerable extent the attitude of society towards the delinquent through several long and cruel centuries. When we think of prisoners, we are apt to think of them *en masse.* We think of a few hundred or perhaps a thousand men shut up within prison walls, but Carlyle in his characteristic and incisive manner dissipates this idea when he says, "the masses! yea masses! every unit of whom has his own heart and sorrows, stands there covered with his own skin, and if you prick him he will bleed." Victor Hugo sounded the key-note of penology when he said "study evil lovingly." There are two basic facts that we should ever keep before us when dealing with delinquents. One is that the great majority of delinquents are handicapped in life's race either by mental, moral, or physical defects. The other is that the great majority of delinquents are made in their youth. The two chief causes of delinquency are heredity and defective early environment; but the longer I am in this work the less I am inclined to ascribe any great degree of delinquency to heredity. I do not believe that a man or a boy should be taught to think that because his parents were delinquent he must be delinquent. (Hear, hear) The longer I am in this work the more convinced am I of the redeemability of humanity.

Let me give you two or three types of the classes that go, to a very large extent, to compose the average prison population. We had a man in prison some months ago sixty-seven years of age. He had spent more than forty of his years behind the bars. He was a good mechanic. He has spent ten or twelve years with us in the seventeen years I have been at the Central Prison, and during those terms I never had to speak to him. He tried to anticipate our every wish both in conduct and industry, and he always succeeded. His terms would probably average one year. Before going out he would usually exhort the boys in some of our mid-week meetings to follow the good example he proposed to set, but the poor old fellow would go down. A year or two ago when his term was drawing to a close, I noticed that he was different to what he had ever been before. He had lost that self-confidence, and I was glad of it. This time, like Byron's prisoner of Chillon, "he regained his freedom with a sigh." He said to me, "Warden, I think if I could stay here with you I could make good." I said, "Very well, we will keep you," and I told him what I would pay him as a weekly wage, but on one condition, that we pay that wage to the Salvation Army Officer and the Officer would keep track of every item of expenditure. He said, "All right." He worked for us for eight or nine months. He was well cared for, and let me say, for the first eight weeks he was with us the Officer came to the prison door every morning at seven o'clock to guide him past the danger spots. If there had been any holes in the street, there would have been a danger signal up, or perhaps a policeman would have been there to protect the citizens; but this old man had to pass a number of danger spots infinitely worse and much more dangerous, so that it required a bodyguard, and he had it. After working for us for a few months, I noticed one day he was getting liquor and when he started, he went very fast and we had to exclude him from the prison. That man tried perhaps harder than any man in this room to do the right thing, but he was the victim of an appetite. We know the battles that he lost but we do not know the victories he won; and for years I have hoped that when the time comes for that man to die that he will be in prison; for if he dies in prison I am perfectly satisfied he will go to the Kingdom Come, but I am not so sure that he will go there if he dies in the slums of this city. I think it is Burns who says, "What is done we partly may compute, but know not what's resisted," and I never think of that old man but I think of those lines of Newman's,

> There's a wideness in God's mercy.
>   Like the wideness of the sea;
> There's a kindness in His justice,
>   Which is more than liberty.

That man is typical of twenty per cent. of the average prison population, and when you analyse what he has to contend with your attitude towards him is of a very different character.

Something more than two years ago a young man came to me in the prison corridor one day, and asked me if I would take him up to the farm at Guelph. He was about twenty-eight years of age. He was doing his fifth term. I said, "I can't take you up; you and I have had a lot of trouble." He said, "Yes, but haven't I done well this time?" I said, "Yes, you have done exceedingly well this time." "Well," he said, "then give me a chance," and I gave him the chance. I took him out. I stayed myself about six hours, and he stayed about twenty-six hours. We apprehended him a few days later in the town where Trinity College School is, in my old town, Port Hope, and when he was brought back into prison I happened to be standing in the same place where he and I had this conversation a few days previously. If ever my heart ached for a man, it ached for him; for if ever you saw contrition and remorse and regret depicted upon the human face, it was on the face of that young man; and I was the one who had made the mistake. I had placed a burden of self-denial and responsibility upon him that he was not able to stand, and under which he had gone down. That young man would only grade about eighty-five per cent. mentally and he represents at least twenty per cent. of those who come to prison. There are more men go to prison through weakness than through wickedness. I do not think that more than fifteen per cent. of the average prison population is intrinsically criminal in character. I have given you these types to give some idea of the material with which we have to deal.

You expect me to-day possibly to say something about our prison farm. Two years ago last April we took the first eleven men out to the farm. From that day to this we have taken out seventeen hundred men. Out of those seventeen hundred men, twenty-two have escaped—something less than one and a half per cent. Does that seem large? If it does, please remember that the desertions among the twelve apostles were greater than that, and they were all picked men. There is an undefinable something in God's out-of-doors that heals and elevates. I cannot tell you what it is. Nature elevates unquestionably. It does not ask: Is a man good or is he bad? The rain cometh alike on the just and unjust. When the great German dramatist despaired of saving his hero, he threw Faust back on nature. Shakespeare says there are "tongues in trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything." Some years ago Professor Carruth, of the University of Kansas, wrote a little poem which to my mind is a very delightful one, and one of the verses reads,

A haze on the far horizon,
  The Infinite tender sky,
The ripe, rich tint of the corn-fields,
  And the wild geese sailing high.
And all over upland and lowland
  The charm of the golden-rod,
Some of us call it Autumn,
  And others call it God.

Do you catch the spirit of those beautiful lines? They tell what I should like to tell, if I were able, how God speaks to our delinquents through the hazy atmosphere and the golden sunsets, and how God speaks to man through the growing and opening grain, and through the song of the birds that soar over their heads. It recalls that beautiful verse by Browning:

> This world, as God has made it,
> All is beauty;
> And knowing this is love,
> And love is duty.

That is the poetry of penality.

Let us go back to prison. Of the men we have taken out to the farm I have asked a great many the same question—different types, different times, and different places. I have asked them all this question: "What do you find the greatest difference between the prison in Toronto and life out here on the farm?" and every man without exception has given me the same reply in one form or another, and it is this—"It is getting away from that cell." As one young man said to me one day, and he did not say it to be disrespectful or irreverent, "Warden, to sit in that cell all day Sunday, and Saturday afternoon, and every night, and see that cell gate staring you in the face, it is Hell." One day a gentleman in the city here came up to the prison and asked to go into the factory. He had his boy of about eleven or twelve years of age with him and he said, "May I take my child in?" I said, "Certainly," and as the boy was coming in, when he came to the cells and saw those gates all in a row, he grabbed hold of his father's hand, and said, "Father, are there beasts in there?" The first year or two I was in the prison I never heard a cell gate clang but it went through my heart. But I have lost that. However, when this boy asked his father that question I then prayed the prayer of Robert Louis Stevenson,

> Lord, thy most pointed pleasure take,
> And stab my spirit wide awake.

The result of these episodes has been that in our new prison at Guelph there are not going to be any cell gates. (Applause) I do not believe it is possible for a young man in the formative years of his life to spend six months in a prison cell and ever be quite the same afterwards. I believe it has a hardening, degrading, callousing effect, which must leave an indelible impress upon his future life.

On the farm at Guelph we have our quarry where we are quarrying stone that enters into the construction of our building. We have our lime kilns where we burn lime. We have our hydrating plant where we hydrate the lime. We have our tile plant where we construct the tile that goes into the construction of these buildings. We have our cement brick plant where we make our own brick. We are doing practically everything that enters into the construction of those buildings except the metal, and producing the timber. Our average population in Guelph for several months past has been three hundred, and those three hundred men work better than any three hundred labourers we could hire in the Province of Ontario.

I am not emphasizing the honour phase of this. I think a good deal of magazine work that has been done in the last few years emphasizes the honour phase too much. These men do not stay there purely from the standpoint of self-denial. If they did, they would have a lot of us people on the outside beaten a hundred ways. They would be so good they would never have gone to prison. They stay there because we keep them there; but we have learned this, that it is infinitely more easy to control the delinquent class than has previously been thought. We find that a firm and kindly supervision is all that is required, and although we have three hundred men up there day and night with only some eight or ten officers, there is not a gun and there never has been a gun or a weapon of any kind on the place, (applause) and I very much doubt if there ever will be. I hope not. Then comes the economy of it; I have not time to-day to go into that more than to say that the financial feature is most satisfactory,

If we can reinstate these men in society and make them social units and relieve the state of an immense expense in taking care of them and watching them, is that not good financing? In dealing with delinquents it is the personal touch that tells; but the personal touch is powerless unless it is backed up by spiritual sincerity. I often think of that passage in the New Testament where our Saviour asked who it was that touched Him, and the disciples replied, with apparently some astonishment at the question, "Do not the multitude throng thee?" Oh yes, the multitude was there, but the personal relationship was only established with one. Longfellow was right when he said:

> Ah, how skilful grows the hand,
> That obeyeth love's command,
> It is the heart and not the brain,
> That to the highest doth attain,
> And he who followeth love's behest,
> Far exceedeth all the rest.

Who are they for whom we should do these things? What claim have they upon our effort and our sympathy? Have you heard of the young Scotch girl who one day was carrying a cripple boy over a street crossing in Edinburgh, and a gentleman seeing her so burdened hastened to aid her; but the girl looked up smilingly, and replied, "Ah, sir, I dinna mind it, he's my brither." (Applause)

IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT

An Address by the HONOURABLE W. H. HOYLE, Speaker of the Ontario Legislature, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 12, 1912

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I have been introduced as the Speaker. Your president might have gone a step further and have said that the Speaker is not a speaker. He is precluded from speaking by virtue of the office that he holds. Our American cousin says that "time is the essence of the contract." Knowing that you are busy men, I shall proceed at once to take a retrospective view of the development of Imperialism.

Of necessity the person who desires to become familiar with all that is meant by the word "Imperial," must familiarize himself with almost every detail of the advancing stages which have brought us up to the present condition of affairs in the Empire which we all love and of which we are proud to be citizens.

British history may be divided into four parts. First, the training part. You see two large islands, one much closer to the Continent of Europe than the other. The tide of immigration has to flow through the larger island to the smaller one. The larger island, England, is filled with minerals and with coal; the smaller island, Ireland, is destitute of these necessities for the development of manufacturing industries. These islands, however, have been selected by Nature, or if you so prefer it, by an All-Wise Being, to become the centre of a gigantic civilization, the greatest perhaps recorded on the pages of the world's history. In these islands has been raised up a race that has succeeded in planting the flag of its country throughout the length and the breadth of the world as we know it at the present time. The training-school has been the shallow waters that surround these two islands. In these waters fish abound, and the island fishermen in the pursuit of their livelihood laid the foundations of that seamanship which earned them the title of the "sea dogs of the ocean." The fisherman developed into the seaman and later, through such training as I have indicated, into the colonizer through discovery rather than conquest.

The Portuguese and the Spaniards became the supreme rulers of the sea, and in that period of the history which we are briefly reviewing, we find gentlemen buccaneers, Englishmen like Raleigh and Drake, going forth and capturing upon the high seas Spanish galleons, bringing them into port, and taking the proceeds of, I was going to say, their theft, at least their piracy. Virginia tells the tale of the failure of colonization by the then inhabitants of the Mother Land, and it was also a failure in Newfoundland. It is true that Henry VII equipped and sent forth John Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland, and he thought he was bestowing a munificent gift on that discoverer when he paid him the large sum of fifty dollars for the discovery of that island which is now of such importance to the British Empire. Fifty dollars was what a discovery of that kind was worth in the eyes of Henry VII.

Then again we have colonization by conquest, when his seamen met the foes of Britain upon the high seas, and the contest for the supremacy of the sea began. Those of you who have had the privilege, as I have had, of visiting the cell where Sir Walter Raleigh was incarcerated in the Tower of London, have seen his etchings upon the glass. You have doubtless read much about him, and though he dreamed dreams he was no visionary in the sense in which we understand the word. He saw that the nation which could obtain the supremacy of the high seas was bound to capture the trade of the world, and by capturing the trade of the world could practically become the ruler of the world. We are members of that great country which has fought and won the battles for the seas, and the results are beyond even the dreams of Raleigh.

Then we come to another period in the development of Imperialism and that is the growth of the Empire. I ask you what is the Empire? From what standpoint do you view it? I will take Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India,—those which we call now practically self-supporting nations. The others are dependencies, but Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand are self-governing nations, all belonging to John Bull's great family. That is the Imperial part of the question I propose to discuss—that we are a big family. We are a family to-day containing 405,000,000 of people, proud of seeing the old Union Jack wave over this mighty Empire. (Applause) These are what are called the Dominions beyond the Seas. They have attained to nationhood. They have all the rights and privileges of a nation bound together by one King, one Empire, one Navy, one Flag, and one People, running through the length and breadth of this great Empire of which I am giving you a small picture at the present time. When Great Britain lost the United States many a one thought they saw the New Zealander on London Bridge, as he has been portrayed. But they forgot that Dampier and later Captain Cook had explored that island continent in the southern seas, Australia, now a British nation growing up full of Imperial instincts, far ahead of us in showing her love for the Empire by the magnificent contribution she has made for the sustaining of the Mother Land and of this Empire upon the high seas. (Hear, hear)

Then we have New Zealand, North and South, as large as the British Islands themselves. They, also, are animated by the same feeling as we. In South Africa, the battle was between two flags—the Union Jack or the flag of the Boer. The Union Jack won the day, and now you have a United South Africa as the result of it.

In passing allow me to say if there is one thing that Canada can be justly proud of, it is that she is the mother of the confederation principle. She worked it out and applied it. It is different from the confederation of the United States, where they have not as yet responsible government in the sense that we Britishers understand it in Canada, and Australia and South Africa have been following in our footsteps.

Look at India. Warren Hastings laid the only true and sure foundation for the government of India. And what was that? The placing of a British officer in every district of India. The native princes who rule in India and are superintended and directed by the British Government, are willing to collect money out of their own pockets as a contribution towards the supremacy and defence of this great Empire. What a noble compliment it is for these people to come forward at this juncture in the history of the Empire and to indicate, as they have done, their willingness to do all that lies in their power for the building up of the Empire. And so it should be with Canada, and so, I believe, it is with Canada. I would not treat this subject from a political party standpoint on any consideration. Nothing is further removed from my mind than to speak in any party spirit of Canada's duty towards the upbuilding and the maintenance of this great Empire.

I am glad to see a gentleman from the city of Quebec to whom I had the pleasure of being introduced. I venture to tell my respected friend that if there are any persons in Canada who more than others should uphold the Empire as it is to-day and as it will continue to be in the future, it is our French Canadian fellow-citizens. (Hear, hear) They are descendants of the old heroic stock, the Norman French who took England from the Saxon. To the Norman French we are indebted for many of our privileges; and we say to you, their descendants, with their hereditary instincts and their blood flowing through your veins, enjoying a freedom of thought, speech, and government such as they never had, we ask you, I say, to aid, defend, and uphold the mightiest institution that any nation has ever erected on the pages of history. British Canadian and French Canadian, we must be prepared to shed the last drop of blood in our veins and to spend the last dollar of money in our pockets in order to uphold and defend Great Britain as the supreme mistress of the seas. (Hear, hear)

You will remember when you went to school that you had to commit to memory:

Britannia needs no bulwark,
No towers along the steep;
Her march is o'er the mountain waves,
Her home is on the deep.

And so it has been. Sailor and soldier and merchant, those that have welded together this great Empire, are bound to defend it. When I say that the population of the British Empire to-day is 405,000,000 of people we must remember that 344,000,000 of them belong to the coloured races. There are only 61,000,000, belonging to the white race, in the temperate zones, the fit abiding places of the white man. The tropics are not agreeable to the white man; he does not settle there for any length of time. So you have all the advantages in the north and in the temperate zones for building up a race of men, genuine men.

Now, let me ask you as members of this Empire Club to go forward in the great work you have undertaken of forming public opinion, and in doing whatever you can to increase the commercial development of the Empire. I take it that this Club, and every other Club, as well as every person who says that he is an Imperialist, is not running around looking for somebody to slay on behalf of the Union Jack. There is something broader than that. We want an Empire built upon the solid foundation of liberty and justice—liberty to all, justice to all, within the proper bounds of a civilized community; and where this is carried out, there should be no danger of the Empire ever failing. I do not think it is required to have either dreams or visions about the future of the Empire beyond the steady discharging of our duty. Now is the accepted time; now is the time when we should go forward like men and defend, not only our coast line, but aid in maintaining this great Empire as the supreme mistress of the seas.

The wireless telegraph, the submarine cables, the great Atlantic and Pacific lines of steamships, are all the result of British enterprise and of British wealth, and to-day in every corner of the world, as the sun rises, all are able through these instrumentalities to bid each other "good-morning." It is something to be proud of, a proper pride, that we in Canada are members of this great Empire, and that every true Canadian—I do not care where he comes from—is an Imperialist, is a man whom we welcome as a brother:

> The great and brave of any land,
> Nor will we ask their clime or creed,
> Before we give the hand;
> Let but their deeds be such
> As all the world may know,
> Then little recks the place of birth
> Or colour of the brow.

I thank you for giving me the opportunity of meeting this Empire Club. Your President says we should give no uncertain sound as to where we stand on the principle of Imperialism, according to every man the full measure of liberty that we enjoy ourselves, acknowledging him as a British subject as we are ourselves; and if we do this, and if we succeed in aiding Imperialism through this method that you have adopted—and a very wise one it is—then I say that we have no reason to fear as to the future of the Empire, because I believe that it is destined to be the great commercial agency of the future, to become, still further, in the hands of an All-wise Providence, a medium by which man can attain to his ideal of humanity in its broadest sense.

THE WORK OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE

An Address by DR. R. A. FALCONER, LL.D., President of the University of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 9, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

This is the second, or possibly the third occasion on which I have spoken to the Empire Club, and I am afraid that I cannot just remember what I spoke upon in the past. However, there will not be much danger of going over the old ground in taking up the subject that I have ventured to submit for your consideration this afternoon.

Last summer there was a very important gathering held in London,—in July—and I thought that some of the impressions that one received from this gathering might be of interest to the members of the Empire Club. This gathering was the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, the second of the kind that has been held, the first having taken place some eight or nine years before. The first was not only a new affair but it was comparatively unimportant, or it did not appeal to the imagination of the educated world; but I cannot say that of the last Congress that was held. It was prepared for with the greatest of care; over two years' work was put upon the outline of its conduct. The University of London, supported by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and afterwards by the other universities of Great Britain, threw themselves into the matter, provided liberally for it, prepared an agenda paper which was drawn up only after the most careful attention and consultation with the universities all over the Empire, and finally made arrangements not only for the conduct of the Congress itself, but for a visit to the other universities of Britain; indeed nothing had been left undone to make the Congress a success. So important was it regarded as being, or likely to be, that the Secretary, Dr. R. D. Roberts, a distinguished geologist and extension lecturer in Britain, was sent out a year before the Congress was held, to meet the Canadian Universities, and we had a gathering in Montreal of the Universities and Colleges of the Dominion, at which our opinions were taken, and Dr. Roberts, after visiting us, returned to Britain to put these into effect. Unfortunately he was very suddenly cut off, and another Secretary, Dr. Hill, had to take his place. However, although there was a great loss on that account, the Congress was carried through in a wonderfully effective manner.

That it was very important may be proved, I think, by the type of men who showed an interest in it. The Government gave a luncheon to the delegates on their first arrival, in the Savoy Hotel, and that luncheon was attended by a large number of the Cabinet, and of distinguished gentlemen in public life in Britain. The address of welcome was given by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught, and the formal address by the Secretary for the Colonies, Right Honourable Mr. Harcourt, and a very brilliant address it was. The morning gatherings were presided over by the Chancellors of the different Universities, the opening session by Lord Rosebery, the second session by Lord Curzon, the third session by Mr. Balfour, the fourth by Lord Rayleigh, the fifth was to have been presided over by Lord Haldane but he was called away suddenly to sit in the Privy Council, the sixth by Lord Strathcona; and these men evidently put a good deal of thought on what they said to the Congress. I may be permitted to quote one sentence from the opening remarks of Lord Rosebery to show the importance in his judgment of the meeting. He says, "I very much doubt whether among all the Congresses that have met in London there is any which in reality is so vitally important, so striking in its nature, making so great an appeal to the imagination of every British subject, as that which meets here to-day. Is not this, after all, the best kind of Empire, that of co-operation in high and noble tasks with the common sympathy, affection, and energy which would characterize the members of an immense family?" The fact that Lord Rosebery, who is not given to over-statement, made a remark of this kind in his opening address is a proof that this gathering was held by men of thought and influence to indicate an important step in the development of the Imperial idea.

The composition of the Congress was itself a proof that there is something in the Empire which has possibly not yet come to the surface, something of intellectual growth and development that before long must strike the imagination of the imperially-minded Briton. Fifty years ago the number of universities that might have met together would have been very small. Last July there were fifty-three represented; every university of the Empire had its delegate. Of those fifty-three Canada had eighteen, a large proportion. (Applause) Now I think personally that, gratifying as numbers are, the intellectual and educational health of the Dominion might have been rather better indicated by a smaller number than eighteen. I am afraid that in some instances we have dissipated our energies in the Dominion, and I rather think that if the good example set by the University of Toronto in the way of federation had been followed in some other districts, particularly in the old provinces from which I come, the intellectual and educational outlook would be better. However, I am not going to quarrel with numbers when numbers really count as they do in a Congress. And Canada stood well to the forefront. I think even more impressive than numbers is the fact that the new Dominion is developing, at once, so strongly and healthfully in the lines of this higher education. At once with the coming of the new provinces there has come this demand for higher education. There is, of course, the University of Manitoba, an old university and one of those that needs strengthening and tightening up—I think that all in Manitoba admit that themselves. Then there is Saskatchewan, which has laid its lines very broadly and satisfactorily, and has a splendid outlook. Almost the same can be said of Alberta. There is also British Columbia that has set aside what is said by some to be the finest site in the world for a university, together with two million acres as an endowment, and the government of that province is using every effort to get this university started on right lines. These facts appealed to the Congress, more, probably, than the numbers.

But this movement is not confined, of course, to Canada, although I suppose that proportionately Canada would stand well up with almost any country in the matter of university education and attendance. But Australia also is putting forth every effort, and they have their state universities well-equipped and well-endowed, running on different lines from ours. There is also a University at the Cape with its various Colleges; there is the University of New Zealand with its four Colleges; there is the University of Hong Kong, of which Sir Frederick Lugard was the father—a prominent member of the Congress and at present Governor of Nigeria. Last comes the small University of Malta of which I know very little. When we come to Britain of course we are on familiar ground, and I do not intend to detain you this afternoon speaking of what you know. I want, however, for the short time at my disposal, to divide what I have to say into two portions, first, to give a few impressions of the work of the Congress itself in London, and then, of what one saw at the universities outside.

The work of the Congress was divided into two main divisions; one was the relation of the universities, the one to the other, and the second was the relation of the university to its staff, students, and graduates. The first point to consider was how the universities of the Empire may in any way be co-ordinated, whether it is possible to bring them into closer relations, so that the work and the advantages of the one may be shared with others that may have other strong points or that may be weak all round. Secondly, there was a good deal of discussion as to the function of the universities; what are we to look for in each university? From the outset it was laid down as an axiom that we must not set before ourselves the aim of anything like uniform standardization, that there must be no attempt to bring the different universities into line, so that the one university is to become anything like a repetition of another university. (Hear, hear) The necessity of individuality was very strongly emphasized. That is an obvious necessity. Take our own University of Toronto; it is unique; it might not be possible to reproduce it elsewhere; it is unique because it has a history, and that history is the outcome of the struggle of this province; even the studies and the method of study in the University of Toronto are conditioned largely, not only by the past, but by the distinctive characteristics of the people of this province and their actual needs. Now every university is an expression of national life, and must be an instrument of service for its own people, and therefore cannot be expected to reduplicate or copy any other university. That was laid down as an axiom. What folly it would be to think that Oxford could be reproduced in Canada! It is simply absurd when you think of it; or to attempt to reproduce even a Scotch university, although that might be easier, or even a provincial university of England. Possibly we are nearer in similarity to these provincial universities and to the Scotch universities than to any other; but the social conditions, the life of the people in Manchester, Liverpool, or Leeds, and their industrial development is so different from these of our own people that you could not expect that the same kind of thing that is being done there must necessarily be reproduced here. To take a German university and set it down here would be absurd; they go on their own lines, laid upon a school system that is of their own devising, just as ours is laid upon our school system. That was, then, the first axiom, and I believe it is a very healthful and sane decision. Recognizing then our individuality we respect one another because we have an individuality of our own; and the strength of each is to go ahead developing as it ought to develop, step by step.

On the other hand, although that is the case, is it not possible that the one university may help the other? Undoubtedly. Is it not possible that some universities may do for the students what other universities cannot do? Of course. Is there not something in an old civilization that a young civilization cannot provide? Would it not be right then that the older section of that civilization should contribute in some way for the up-building of the younger elements of that civilization? That also is axiomatic. Therefore the second great result of this Congress was the setting before the universities the facilities that the older and better-equipped universities afford to the younger universities abroad, that Great Britain should tell us who come from abroad what she can do for our students. A great many of us, especially those who were educated in Britain, knew in a general way what could be done, although possibly we did not realize how far the Old Land was willing to go. This Congress had the effect of calling out the best sympathy of the old universities to the universities of the Empire, and that in itself, Mr. Chairman, is a very great thing; because when you get sympathy you have practically taken the first step towards co-operation. Many of us came away feeling that more can be done for our students in Britain in the future than in the past. As a graduate of Old Country universities I have often felt that they lived too much to themselves and did not sufficiently recognize what was done in our Colonial universities as they then were. Students would go across from here after having spent four years in Arts, and our four years in Arts counted for very little. Not only did they count for very little, but there were few scholarships or anything of the kind offered. What was the result? The universities of this country were, until recent years, sending out of the country a large amount of the best intellect we had. Why? Because the United States offered what Britain did not offer. The United States gave chances and opportunities that Britain did not give. Britain stood by itself and said, "Well you can take our terms or you can leave them;" and our students said, "We cannot go and take your terms, we have not the money, and if we have we have not the openings." The United States universities said, "Come, we will accept your work done, and you can get your doctor's degree." The result is we have men dotted all over the United States in the best positions everywhere.

As the Empire grows we ought surely to be affording more opportunity to our well trained men for teaching positions. Where are they to get their teaching done? Still, I think, Britain offers the best place for a large section of the work that is to be done; Britain and Germany still stand supreme, although the United States has come up wonderfully well, and in many lines is remarkably well equipped. I think all those of us who belong to the British race feel that we should like to see our people turn more and more to Britain for graduate work and for finishing off so that they may come back to us and give us the benefit of their study after they have had a thorough training. This Congress has opened up that possibility to a greater degree than it existed before, opened it up by creating bonds of connection. The results of a Congress or Council are not the resolutions adopted nor even the papers read, but they are largely the personal links that are created by talking over questions with people whom you get to know. They get to know you, they get to know something about the institutions you represent; you understand their point of view, you see their difficulties, and many a difficulty is brushed away in conversation. Consequently I think that these Congresses have had the great effect of preparing a broader road, so that it will be easier for our people to go to the Old Country to get their training, and then to return.

I will pass over the discussions of what might be done in the universities as to graduate work, undergraduate work, matriculation, and that kind of thing, in most of which you would not be interested. After four days of this Conference, which were diversified with a great deal of very splendid entertainment by the Lord Mayor and others,—most elaborate hospitality—most of us went to the other universities, to Oxford, where we were received with extreme kindness, to Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Cambridge. Some of us had been before to the Scotch universities and all the delegates did not go to the same universities. When we entered these provincial universities we came into a new atmosphere. Most of you know something of Oxford and Cambridge, perhaps less of the provincial universities. These have sprung up in every city, and they have afforded openings for the youth of their city, partly on the old lines and partly on new lines. The old subjects are taught by men of the highest eminence, who are well paid. Some of the professional schools, particularly in medicine, are as fine as any in the country. I suppose the Medical School of Liverpool is one of the very best. Then especially the faculties and departments of applied science are developed to the utmost. It is in these developments of the provincial universities that you realize how awake England really is. Those cities are spending thousands of pounds on their own universities, and the universities are also generously supported by private gifts. The city of Birmingham spends £10,000 a year on the University of Birmingham, which has now a fine site and fine buildings. Liverpool spends more. The University of Manchester together with its great Technical School, which is practically its faculty of applied science, gets from the city of Manchester £26,000 a year. Leeds, I think, pays £10,000 a year. I do not say that these figures are exact, for I have not verified them for some time. None of those universities is within range of the University of Toronto as to size or the variety of its work. Manchester is the largest with 1,600 students; what is that to our 4,000? We spend two and a half million dollars in this city through staff and students, and how much does this city give to the University of Toronto? Only $6,000 rental for a piece of ground behind the park that is worth I suppose half a million, and that ground we need very badly. I believe that the city of Toronto has to give something to the University of Toronto in the future just out of self-respect—(laughter and applause)—and to keep in line with what they are doing in the Old Land. Look at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bristol—every one of them. The city of Toronto must keep up in the van. However, though I intended to speak of that I did not come merely for this purpose. The developments of these new universities are remarkable. They have applied their science to their industry, consquently in Manchester there is a large school in which dyeing is studied technically, and this is not merely a trade school; it is a high grade trade school, but it is beyond the trade school stage, is really of the university rank. Investigations made in Manchester by Professor Perkins have become very well known, particularly of late his investigations into the composition of rubber. It will mean an enormous amount to the industry. In Leeds you have the textile industry developed to such an extent that the Cloth Workers Guild of London supports largely that side of the development in Leeds. The English are awake to what the Germans knew long ago, that industrial progress is in the long run dependent on science and the application of science to industry. Take away the universities and where is your science? The university is a necessity (and they know it) not only to the intellectual side of life, but to the material prosperity, industrial growth, and development of the country. The Germans have learned that remarkably well and Britain has awakened to it. Possibly that was the main impression that I gathered from visiting these provincial universities.

Let me close by making one or two quotations from what was said by Lord Rosebery and Lord Curzon with regard to the work of a university. While we lay great stress upon industry, the development and advancement of industry, and the growth of the scientific spirit in all departments of our life, still we come back to this that was emphasized at the Congress of the Universities, and that must be emphasized still as Lord Rosebery said, "The formation of the character of the average man to serve in the public life of the Empire, is the function after all of the University." And too great stress cannot be laid upon that, Mr. Chairman. The old faculty of Arts must be maintained at its height, and it is being maintained in Britain, and I believe through the Empire also. In Toronto it is still far and away the leading faculty. We have nearly 2,000 students in Arts, over 1,100 in University College. The standard is keeping up and the numbers are keeping up. But after all, whether it be in the professions or whether it be in industrial activity, behind them all is the University spirit, the spirit of service to the body politic through the profession, through industry it may be, in practical politics it may be, almost in any line of activity, and Lord Rosebery laid the stress there for the Empire. Let me quote another sentence of his: "No one who observes the signs of the times can fail to see,"—I think this is a remarkable statement of his,—"that it will be increasingly difficult to maintain the Empire in its entirety and cohesion without an intensity of character and a devotion which it must be the task of the universities pre-eminently to maintain." (Applause) Public service there. Another from Lord Curzon. He says that "Oxford and Cambridge are not mere venerable relics of an obsolete past, but they are sanctuaries of a spirit that never dies." I think that is one of the best sentences of Curzon's I have seen. He says, "I should like to record my belief that in the college system as it exists in the older universities and in the life and teaching of those institutions as a whole are to be found the best guarantees for that character which in the conduct of government and the daily business of administration is more precious than rubies and more potent than regiments of armed men." And he said in prefacing that remark, "I speak as a man that has administered a great empire." He is looking, then, to the universities to provide men who will take their place in public life and share the burden, the tremendously heavy burden which the public man always has to shoulder. The same thing was said by Mr. Harcourt. I need not however detain you long with that if you will let me read one sentence. He made a plea for the younger universities to produce at least one man who will become the historian of his country and his race. Looking abroad he said to us in Canada, "Produce your historian," to Australians, "Produce your historian; you Universities, send up your man who will put your life into an expression which will become the song of your heritage. You can only do it for yourselves; we look to you to do for yourselves what the older Universities have done for the older sections of the country. And so," he says, "with the triumph of your abounding commerce and the material and deserved rewards of commercial prosperity, you will associate the flavour of ancient culture with the recorded glory of a young race."

These in general are the impressions—though I am afraid I have given expression to them in a very disjointed way—that I gathered from this remarkable gathering. One came home heartened, very decidedly heartened; a new impulse and a new enthusiasm came to us of the younger countries to develop on our own lines, preserve our own individuality, produce our own thinkers, work out our own problems, and yet to do it all as a young people with an ancient past, a young people linked in close contact with the peoples from whom we come in the older lands.

These opportunities are to be repeated. The Congress is to meet once every five years. Meantime it is hoped that a Bureau will be established which will serve as a means of interchange of ideas and information which may be useful to us all, so that when we gather five years after this, those of us who go will find that some things that are now vague have become more concrete and definite. Enthusiasm, impulse, culture, education are so much of a spirit that possibly it will be difficult to crystallize them to a very great extent, but even already we have reaped a great result from this Congress. (Applause)

SOME ASPECTS OF COMMERCIAL VALUE TO THE CITY OF TORONTO OF THE PROPOSED HARBOUR IMPROVEMENTS

An Address by MR. R. S. GOURLAY, before the Empire Club of Canada, January 16, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I desire to express my appreciation of the kind words of your President, and also of the honour accorded me in being asked to address you on this question of the harbour improvement plan.

I have some little diffidence in dealing with the matter because it has become in a measure an old story with some of you, and I would like at the outset to ask you to bear with me while I give you some statistical facts that refer to Toronto's position to-day industrially and commercially. But before doing so I would direct your attention to these two plans (indicating two large drawings). The plan as you see it here is an accurate survey of the city waterfront on the scale of 300 feet to the inch. From one end of the plan to the other you have twelve miles in view. The entire area, you will see, is covered with small figures which indicate the 8,000 soundings that have been taken all over that entire waterfront. The larger figures indicate three hundred borings. That was the first work done by the Commission, getting an accurate topographical and hydrographical survey of the waterfront of which there had been no accurate record in existence at any previous time in the history of Toronto. There had been plans of sections and parts, according to changing conditions, but when you came to relate them they were found to be incorrect; therefore the first work was to obtain data as to the basic condition of the city's waterfront as it is to-day. The second plan shows the proposed changes, and just at this point I want to indicate what the colours represent. Everything you see in black or white or gray is transferred from this plan (indicating first plan). What you see in pink is the development contemplated, largely industrial or commercial, with the exception of two sites for aquatic sports, club houses, and buildings of that character (indicating two points respectively on the Island and in the neighbourhood of Ashbridge's Bay). The yellow indicates the roadways or boulevards; the red indicates the outline of breakwater that is suggested; the light green shown in park treatment indicates the new park areas that are suggested. The dark green here and elsewhere (indicating north shore of Island) indicates the new made park land in connection with the Island. With these colours kept in mind, you will have at the outset some conception of what is suggested by the improved harbour plan.

I would like, in discussing the matter with you to-day, to discuss it from a threefold standpoint, namely, the value of the harbour improvement plan from an industrial, a commercial, and a home-living standpoint.

Taking up the industrial first, may I call your attention to the fact that in 1890 the census indicated the population of Toronto as over 181,000, while in 1910 it had grown to over 376,500. The annual value of the industrial products of Toronto twenty years ago was just about $45,000,000; in 1910, two years ago, it had reached $155,000,000. So that the population development was in the ratio of 109%, and the industrial development was in the ratio of 243%. When you realize that the census of 1910 places the value of Montreal's industrial output at only $11,000,000 more than Toronto, and also indicates that its growth was only in the ratio of 145% in the last twenty years, you will realize how rapidly Toronto is becoming pre-eminently the industrial centre of Canada. (Applause) In the foregoing I have given you one view-point of the industrial development of the city. Another view-point, as ascertained from the census, is as follows: The census of 1910 indicates that in Canada there are 300 different classes of manufactures produced. Out of these 300 classes, we, to-day, manufacture 176 in Toronto. In

92 of these classes there is considerable competition; with the number of competing factories varying from 3 up to 67 (the 67 being for foundry and machine-shop products). In 84 classes we have only one, or, at most, two enterprises. Altogether we have in these two divisions, 176 out of the 300 various industries of Canada represented in Toronto's industrial life.

Again the census returns indicate that covering these 176 classes, we have at the present time 1,104 establishments with a working population of more than 65,400. Dr. Blue, the Government statistician, says it is a very modest estimate to assume that for every employee in a factory there are at least two others dependent on that employee's earnings; therefore in Toronto, we have 195,000 people directly dependent on the industrial enterprises of the city, so that with a population of 375,000 you will see that over half our population is directly dependent on the industrial life of the city. When you take those who are not directly dependent—the banker, the storekeeper, the professional man, the cartage and the transportation man—every class enjoying our civic life is indirectly dependent on the industrial life of our city.

In order that you may realize that the increase as per the 1910 census is now being exceeded, may I say that the City Architect indicates that in 1911 there were 110 new factories erected and 77 new warehouses, at an estimated cost of three and one-quarter millions of dollars. In 1912 there were erected 86 new factories and 66 new warehouses, without referring to additions to factories and warehouses, at an estimated cost of four and three-quarter millions of dollars. So that ever since the days of the census of 1910, Toronto's industrial development has been going on at an even greater ratio than for the previous ten years.

That being the situation industrially, I now turn to the plan to show what we have endeavoured to provide in order to augment, increase, and develop that industrial life. This area (indicating Ashbridge's Bay) has been set apart for industrial development; we call it the industrial area. It is at present marsh land covered with an average depth of water of about five feet, and the purpose of the Commission is to extend the city in that direction. You will notice that the southern boundary of the city is along here (indicating). This is the land which we call Fisherman's Island; but the developed southern portion is to the north here, (indicating) and what we purpose is, to do what we have done with our ravines, fill up the water-covered area between the city and Fisherman's Island, and let the streets from the north extend south into that area, which might have been done years ago with great profit. In this plan we show how we propose doing it; out of the thousand acres in this area, we are laying out about 230 acres for streets and railway sidings. The length of the railway sidings will be about 30 miles, and of the streets about 30 miles. We are laying out 180 acres for a deep channel, 400 feet wide, with a turning basin, and the remainder, 644 acres, we have laid out for industrial sites. Perhaps you do not fully realize what that 644 acres means, but if you will carry your mind to the corner of Yonge and Queen Streets, walk up Yonge to Bloor, then along Bloor to Bathurst, down Bathurst to Queen, then along Queen to where you started from, you will have covered an area a mile and a quarter square. This industrial area is one fifth greater, about a mile and a half square. Bear this also in mind, that at the present time there is no class of real estate so hard to obtain as a decent-sized factory site with railway siding. It is almost impossible, at any price, to get a factory site anywhere near the heart of the city; and this industrial area, as we show it here, is not only to be provided with sidings to all railways but with deep water docks along the west front, in through here (indicating turning basin), in the centre (indicating the neighbourhood of Yonge Street), and also here at Bathurst Street, and as time requires these docks will be augmented. What the Commission proposes in connection with this plan at the present time is to add docks along this front (indicating western front of Ashbridge's Bay); there is one dock building at the present time along this entrance; we will have docks along both sides of this 6,800-

foot channel and a 1,000-foot square turning basin, and so will add to the city's dockage three and one-half miles, with an additional dockage of about 800 feet at Bathurst Street. These docks are to be connected with the industrial railway sidings. They will be deep water docks; it is the intention of the Commission to have the channels and everything related to the docks of such a depth that whatever vessel can pass through the new Welland Canal, which is being made with 30 feet at the sills, will have ample accommodation in this area. The new channel will be 400 feet wide, so that it will be absolutely easy for vessels to pass each other without disturbing any vessel loading or unloading at either side or at both sides. The turning basin will be large enough for vessels to tie up all around the basin and yet for the largest vessel to turn in the space remaining.

Another factor in connection with this area is that it is close to the heart of the city. To-day in cities the size of Toronto you have often to go many miles from the centre of the city for an industrial site; this area is close to the heart of the city. Street car service will come south to every portion, even to this road at the extreme southern end, and that, from the standpoint of labour, will be a great advantage in the saving of time and will also provide access at a minimum cost. This industrial area will also be served with electric energy and power with competition,—not only City Hydro-power, but the Electric Light Company also—and we hope that all the wires will be underground. (Applause) The streets themselves will be modern in character. They will be on the basis of 75 to 175 feet in width. This northern street that is already laid out on the city's plans is 150 feet. This street, for instance, (indicating) with its counterpart here and here, (indicating) will be 75 feet, and it will be kept absolutely for vehicular and street car traffic. There will be no necessity for crossing any railway track on the level, and the same thing applies to the street running east and west. Each alternate street will be free from railway sidings, and the alternate streets upon which provision is made for sidings will be constructed 175 feet wide with two tracks down the centre, with 75-foot roads clear on each side of the tracks. Another feature in connection with this industrial area is that it is adjacent to a magnificent home-living district. Right to the north we have along the entire waterfront the city as it has developed, so that labour, employee, and employer, are within easy reach of their industrial work.

Then the Harbour Commission Plan in connection with the method of dealing with this proposition is, we think, an ideal one. We say to the man who wants to locate on a site and put up an industrial plant, we will practically become preferred shareholders to the value of the land in your enterprise and be satisfied with a five per cent. dividend. We will provide the land at a fixed value for twenty-one years and ask you to pay five per cent. as a rental on that fixed value. At the end of that time it will be appraised again by arbitration and we will ask you again for five per cent. rental on the new value. Therefore you do not need to put any money into the land, you can keep your money for the development of your enterprise, on which you have a right to expect a larger profit than five per cent. So that from the standpoint of the manufacturer we are offering him an ideal proposition, and from the standpoint of the city an ideal condition, because we will retain the fee in the land, and thus secure a five per cent. revenue on land values for all time, to help in the cost of the government of the city.

I may say, in connection with the development of the industrial area, that we do not overlook the fact that it will supply a splendid local market. Toronto people are good buyers and they have plenty of money to buy with, and to every one we offer that advantage. And then we offer what no other city in the Canadian section of the North American continent offers, and that is the very best distributing centre we have in Canada. In calling attention to these advantages I think I should indicate that Hon. Mr. Rogers, the Minister of Public Works, said to us, "Why do you ask to have this work spread over ten years or eight years? With the development of this country you can lease every lot of that area inside of five years." And the Commission believe they can, once the land is ready to offer.

Now look at it from a financial standpoint. On that five per cent. rental basis and at a low valuation of $15,000 an acre, we have in prospect an annual revenue, when this area is occupied, of over $500,000, on the five per cent. preferred dividend plan. And we expect that when that area is covered with buildings, the value of the land and the buildings will run somewhere between $30,000,000 and $40,000,000, which will be a taxable assessment value to help carry the annual taxation of this city.

Dealing with some of the smaller facts in connection with the industrial area, perhaps I might be permitted to say one or two things further. First, we are closing up Keating's Cut; we look upon it as folly to have made the district an island by making that cut; we divert the Don Channel to the north to flow down and enter the bay at this dock entrance, and along this area we will be able to lease sites for aquatic enterprises, for the manufacture of skiffs, motor boats, and lake craft of that character. Then we purpose reserving this section (indicating) for a railway yard, providing track accommodation, but I will deal with that proposition a little later.

Let us now turn to another element in connection with our industrial area, that is, what we purpose providing for small manufacturing. There are 124 different classes of goods manufactured in Canada that are not made in Toronto. Many will never be made here because our situation in regard to the necessary raw product is not favourable, but there are a large number that will, and some must of necessity be started in a small way. There are also a good many other articles that are not yet manufactured in Canada, but that will be later on, so that within ten years it is our expectation that between 330 and 350 different kinds of articles will be manufactured in Toronto. It is the purpose of the Commission to establish model concrete factory buildings on a site or sites close to the docks and railway sidings. In these model factory buildings all the advantages of the city and district may be obtained,—space, power, insurance, freight handling, storage, at a small minimum cost, and we will be able to offer to the small manufacturer who is beginning, all these essentials at a reasonable rate, and what capital he has can be used in the development of his enterprise; and we believe that such an opportunity will be a great factor in developing Toronto's industrial activities.

Now, if you will allow me, we will look at the matter from the standpoint of commercial development—the trader and jobber's standpoint, in common with the manufacturer. I would lay this down as an economic axiom, that the greatest factor in making or marring a commercial metropolis is the ease and cost of freight handling and transportation. The ease and rapid facility with which one can handle freight, and the lower cost at which one can move it will be the chief factors in developing any commercial centre, so that the Harbour Commission are endeavouring to take advantage of every possible consideration which will reduce the cost of handling freight.

It may interest you to know that as a people we are almost a decade behind some neighbouring cities. We do not value and we do not use waterborne transportation as we should. It is a common statement among the railways that Toronto need not be considered from the standpoint of water competition. Hamilton and Montreal are considered. But in Toronto the merchants and manufacturers pay so little attention to the advantage of handling freight by water that the railways look upon waterborne competition, as far as Toronto is concerned, as a negligible quantity. In Hamilton the merchants and manufacturers use waterborne transportation throughout six months of the year to a far greater extent than does Toronto; you will hardly credit it, and yet it is true. As a matter of fact, to develop the waterborne carrying of freight the Toronto Lake Lines that have adopted an aggressive policy actually have to go out and canvass for freight. Whoever thinks of the railways canvassing for freight? We call them up by telephone to take it away and never expect to be asked for it. There has been a decided change this year, with the result that we are going to have more steamers carrying freight next season, and it is to the advantage of the city to realize that we have been remiss in not taking advantage of the competition that accrues from waterborne freight. The entire tonnage of inward freight for the past season in connection with Toronto Harbour, while greater than any previous year, is only 396,400 tons, while the inward freight carried by the three lines of railway amount to 5,437,786 tons. That in itself is an argument indicating what I have endeavoured to present to you, and it is the more unexplainable when you remember that you can deliver your freight to a steamboat and know within an hour the time it is going to reach its destination, whereas you put freight in a railway car and you don't know whether it will reach there in three days or a month. Then, again, it is the more unexplainable when you consider the cost advantage of waterborne freight. The advantage of waterborne freight to the commercial life of this city is that it is the chief regulator of freight rates downward and, if we make waterborne competition a real factor, we will also secure better treatment from the railways. Hamilton shippers have found it so. From Toronto to Fort William the all-rail rate is from 42 cents to $1.05 according to class. The water and rail rate is from 25 to 50 cents according to class, and the all-water rate is from 23 to 45 cents according to class. That in itself indicates the value commercially to the merchants and manufacturers of Toronto of using waterborne freight. During the portion of the year when we have waterborne transportation, we can carry our freight by water from Toronto to Fort William, a distance of 802 miles, for from 23 to 45 cents per 100 pounds according to class, but when you ship by rail where there is no water competition, say Fort William to Winnipeg, half the distance, you have to pay the railways 38 to 86 cents for carrying the same class of freight. Gentlemen, I want to say to you today, encourage the Harbour Board and those who advocate waterborne navigation, send your freight by water, and you will get better service from the railways. Another thing I want to say is this, that it is to your interest as citizens of this city to see that this waterfront is the property of the city through the Harbour Commission for all time. (Applause) To-day in Chicago, Buffalo, and Boston the railways control the waterfront, and they have their own lines of steamers, so that it is almost impossible for an independent line to get freight. In Lake Huron and Georgian Bay the Government has spent immense sums of money for the development of many harbours, but the railways have been far-sighted enough to get the land all round the waterfront and the development therefore has been largely for the advantage of railways. Here we want to see that the Harbour Board control it for all time for the benefit of the citizens of Toronto. (Applause)

Now, turning to the plans let me show you what we are proposing in order to cover this commercial situation. In the first place you know the harbour has only dredged channels, we have nothing but channels; it is the purpose of the Commission to deepen the entire harbour area to the depth of the Welland Canal, so that the entire basin will be a deep water basin; and if the time ever comes that we have ocean vessels making Toronto a port of call, we will have depth enough in the harbour to take care of any such vessels that visit us from across the ocean.

Another basic idea is, that where we have not deep water we shall have land, and that the land will be made a valuable asset; and that is what is represented by our enlarging the Island by 352 acres as shown by these green spots (indicating on plan). For commercial purposes we are having new docks for three and one-half miles with immediate prospect of construction; these can be extended to four and one-half miles, and later to five and one-half miles if circumstances require it. Also we propose having modern freight handling apparatus on the docks. The great element to-day in the cost of freight is in having a vessel steam into port and in a few hours unload and go out again. Our season at most is only six months and, if we can add twenty per cent. to the number of trips taken by steamers, we have the right to expect the freight to be approximately twenty per cent. less. So in connection with the new docks it is the intention to have the most modern and up-to-date facilities in order that the handling and disposing of the freight may be done in the shortest possible time. A gentleman told me about a vessel in which he was interested going into a United States harbour on the Upper Lakes with 90,000 feet of lumber, and it took something over two days to unload; it cost them 60 cents a thousand feet, $540 to take it off the steamer. And as an instance of the out-of-date handling of the business of that port, a man who was painting the warehouse shed on the dock at $2.70 a day, hung his paint pail on a peg and worked at $6.00 a day for the two days taking the lumber off the steamer, and then afterward went back to his painting at $2.70 a day until another steamer came into port. We do not want to have anything in connection with Toronto Harbour of that character; though I am afraid we cannot say very much about our up-to-date methods at the present time.

We also purpose, in connection with the harbour, to erect modern warehouses, warehouses where the freight can be stored directly from the vessel for a day, a week, a month, or a year, where it will be economical for the merchant to pay a low rate for the use of that warehouse as his storage warehouse from which he may ship at all times, and thus eliminate the cartage and handling charge between the dock and the warehouse up town. And it is the intention at the east, the centre, and the west, to erect, not merely units of factory plants for smaller enterprises, but also provide splendid warehouse accommodation. That accommodation will be at the service of the merchants and the manufacturers of Toronto for the storage of raw material or finished goods until navigation is open, or until ready for shipment by rail; for it is our purpose to co-ordinate all the railways with the docks and warehouses. It is the intention of the Commission to enable you to take an order in your office and to ship from the Harbour warehouse right to the car and so eliminate cartage charges. To-day the primary cause for the congestion at the terminal points is that if you want to ship a carload of freight, we will say to a point on the Grand Trunk Railway, and your siding is on the Canadian Pacific Railway, it is delayed by the necessary inter-switching; we are planning therefore to get rid, as far as the industrial area is concerned, of all inter-switching and the charge for same. That is, our plan is to make it possible to ship to any point in Canada on the railway that will touch that point and not be charged for inter-switching here or elsewhere. That is going to be a great saving, for to-day the manufacturer and the merchant have to pay from $3 to $8 per car for inter-switching charges. The purpose of the Commission in laying out its railway sidings and yard is to secure direct shipping by every railway, cutting out inter-switching and delays from congestion at terminal points. If the Harbour Commissioner does nothing else for the city, that is going to save for those who handle its commerce many hundreds of thousands of dollars, and ought to make the cost of living cheaper.

People have no conception of what cartage, in a city like Toronto, means. On this plan (indicating present plan of city) there is not a single dock co-ordinated with the railway, and we have not at the present time any co-ordination of rail and water. Here (on proposed plan) we purpose having such co-ordination everywhere, and we propose having it with all the railways and we also propose eliminating all unnecessary cartage in and out of Toronto unless we have to break bulk, and that also will be at a minimum cost. The Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railway collected $373,808.55 from the merchants of Toronto for cartage last year. If their demand to the Railway Board of last December for an increase of a cent per 100 pounds had been yielded, it would have added $160,000 to the cost of carting the goods away from the stations in Toronto. Even the order as granted will cost the merchants $50,000 more. In connection with those two railways alone we have an annual expenditure of nearly half a million dollars for cartage; so that in the carrying out of this commercial aspect of these plans you will see what we are endeavouring to obviate.

Coming to the question of industrial sidings, I might explain that they are on a three-track basis. The centre track will have crossovers, so that any merchant or manufacturer on this track may be loading his car, and his neighbour on the other side may also be loading or unloading without an interruption to either by the moving of either car. This will mean an immense saving of time and be of great benefit to the industrial people who occupy these sites.

Now there is just the home-living part of the plan, and I would like to say that the Harbour Commissioners have given a great deal of thought to it from that standpoint. We are proud of Toronto, and I think we are prouder of the fact that it is a home-living city than we are of any other civic feature; and it is not a home-living city for a few wealthy men, but for a great mass of people who have moderate incomes. In accepting the trust of this heritage we have conceived it our duty to provide for the health, the recreation, and the outdoor welfare of every class of our citizens, and what we are proposing to do has this basic object in view, that if we can make Toronto even a better place to live in than it is now, with the best and purest outdoor enjoyment all the year round, we have added an asset to its vitality as a great city even beyond what we are doing for the commercial and industrial development of the harbour front. Therefore, instead of carrying out this industrial area 900 feet further and making money out of it, which we could do, we have said to the city, "We will contract to give you 350 acres here of lagoon park treatment, 350 more acres of island park treatment, and 190 acres of western park treatment—over 900 acres of new development in accordance with this plan; and with the assistance of the Government we are enabled to give you that at a cost of about $2,000,000, at an annual charge of $250,000 until the bonds are paid, that is, for interest, principal, rent, sinking fund, and everything." And we have said to the city, "We will give you these areas for the benefit of the citizens at large, and we ask you to provide that amount," and I am happy to say that in the Mayor's recent inaugural address the statement was made clearly and definitely that the city would accept and carry out this proposition. (Applause)

In providing for this area we start at the east end of the city. In this portion (indicating east of Woodbine Avenue) we have not, as a Commission, absolute control of the waterfront; and therefore the plan proposed does not provide for more than a breakwater some 600 feet out from the shore line, but it will provide protected water with forty-foot openings every two thousand feet; it will preserve the beach for the residents, and the hope is that it will be preserved for the people at large, and under no circumstances will anybody be permitted to bring a wharf out to the breakwater. Then beginning with the city park treatment at Woodbine Avenue, to give you some conception of what it means, I might say that this little piece in there (indicating) is fully as large as Hanlan's Point. We are laying out this 100-foot strip as a revenue producer, an area facing on the park frontage and the lagoon islands of a strip about three and one-half miles long and 100 feet wide which we intend to rent for approved summer cottages and from which we expect to derive from $35,000 to $40,000 a year for ground rent. The rest is a beautiful park, lagoons, and islands for every class of citizen who may come in boats or street cars and spend the summer days there or who may drive along the boulevard. There is to be a boulevard fifty feet wide and a bridle-path sixteen feet wide running from Woodbine Avenue to the eastern channel, some three and one-half miles. Here we have a 100-foot opening into the turning basin, in order to keep it provided always with pure, fresh water. In connection with this section of the place we expect to provide aquatic sites for boat clubs for the east end, and everything else that makes for a summer's pleasure in a city by the waterside. Coming to the eastern channel we cross it with a roller lift bridge. We have every hope that the Government will build the entire breakwater from one end to the other, provide the channel and turning basin with the dockage on both sides and in front of the industrial area, provide the roller lift bridges, begin the work this season, and complete it within five or six years. There is every hope that before Parliament adjourns that this will be an assured fact.

Then passing on to the Island we diversify the boulevard treatment. We have an east-bound boulevard and a west-bound boulevard passing through and over the lagoons and through Island Park. At intervals there will be some twenty-seven bridges erected, varied in style and beautiful in every style. The larger bridges will be constructed for heavy traffic. It is not our business to provide street railway service on the Island, but if the city decides at any time to have street cars, the work of the Harbour Commission will not have to be done over again. We are also paying attention to the Henley Regatta Course; and are providing a new Island in place of this eyesore with its decayed cribwork (indicating near Hanlan's Point) to protect the new watercourse so that there will no longer be any delays on account of eastern winds.

As stated, we are making provision for two boulevards each eighteen feet wide, going east and west, and a sixteen-foot bridle-path within a beautiful park area. At the western channel we cross on a roller lift bridge and connect with a fifty-foot boulevard and the bridle-path which continues north to Bathurst Street. The Harbour Board has succeeded in arranging with the Railway Company so that Bathurst Street, we hope, will be extended south on a three per cent. grade, 100 feet wide, in order to joint the boulevard and provide access to the deep-water docks and factories that we are planning to construct at this point. From here we propose to carry the waterfront south and form another park area. To the north of this area the Bathurst Street car service will be extended and provide an eastern entrance to the Exhibition Grounds. At this point we have also provided a large site for motor-boat clubs and other aquatic organizations and a sheltered anchorage basin of forty-two acres. From here the boulevard extends in front of the Old Fort to the Exhibition Grounds and is at this point eight feet lower than the Exhibition Grounds so that from the Grounds one may overlook the boulevard and lake. Here we are providing a large pier, double-decked, for passenger landing,—landing on the lower deck, and recreation and band concerts on the upper deck. The breakwater has forty-foot openings every two thousand feet, and it is also so arranged as to provide sheltered anchorage for steamers coming from Port Dalhousie and elsewhere, when landing or taking on passengers at the Exhibition pier.

Then we come to Parkdale, and the suggestion we make to the city is that it should acquire all this property along the waterfront for park area, and have a diversion of the boulevard to go either way, up through existing streets or along the waterfront. When we come to Sunnyside and down the incline to a lower level, we treat the Humber Bay on a somewhat extensive scale. The erosion by water on the Humber Bay road, the main artery to the city, has reduced the road in some places to fifty feet, and part of that is taken up by street cars. It is absolutely inadequate for our purposes, so we propose to carry out the breakwater from 900 to 1,100 feet, and from the land itself we provide, first, for an eighty-foot right of way for suburban traffic, our expectation being that the grade will be raised to the grade of the Grand Trunk and be ample for four tracks reaching by tunnel from Sunnyside to the heart of the city, by rapid transit. Next we provide for a sixty-six-foot street for vehicular traffic, then we ascend to an elevation of sixteen feet and arrange for a 150-foot reservation for recreation buildings, stores, amusement places, picture galleries, and everything that is necessary to equip a summer resort that is to be healthful and entertaining from the standpoint of the citizens. This reservation will be about one and one-quarter miles long, and the expected revenue will be about $145,000, so that the whole anticipated revenue from the Harbour Plan may reach about $700,000 a year. That is what the development of areas neglected at the present time may realize in the future as an annual revenue towards the work of the city, less, of course, the cost of financing and administration. Beyond this 150-foot reservation for stores and amusement places we have 55 feet of terraced boulevard with a parapet wall in front as we descend to the lower level of eight feet above the mean water level, then a 20-foot promenade walk, then the boulevard 50 feet wide, with a 16-foot bridle-path, then a 10-foot board walk, then a 90-foot bathing-beach and a 500-foot protected water-way for all sorts of aquatic and winter sports. In a word, we are providing beaches, play grounds, bath houses, aquatic club sites, and all that will give the citizens of Toronto, from one end of the city to the other, the very best use of park land, and of a protected water-way along the entire city front at a minimum of cost, and the expectation is that we shall have a model waterfront in the years to come as well as an income from the same that will make Toronto more than ever the ideal spot on the continent for home-living through both the summer and the winter seasons. And we have every reason to believe that inside of eight or nine or ten years, what we show you on these plans will be an accomplished fact, because we have the assurance from some of Toronto's most able financiers that the moment we are ready to issue our bonds for the $11,000,000 we require, there will be no difficulty in floating them. (Applause)

ARE WE EQUAL TO THE OCCASION?

An Address by J. H. BURNHAM, ESQ., M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 23, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I shall endeavour not to detain you in trying to find out what I meant by asking the question "Are we equal to the occasion?" The occasion I refer to, as most of you have probably supposed, is that of forming ourselves into an Empire. Are the people composing or inhabiting the various parts of what has heretofore been called the British Empire equal to the occasion of forming themselves into a body, especially for defence and for whatever other matters of regulation they see fit, or not? In speaking of this country you will understand that I am not at any time speaking in a partisan way. It is necessary of course to make references, and names perhaps are mentioned which might strike you as political, but I do not intend it in that way.

My opinion is that at the present time the great point of conflict in this country is, Shall we do something towards making ourselves into an Empire, or shall we do nothing? One policy certainly is for the taking of steps; the other is certainly for waiting, and allowing ourselves to drift further. In support of my idea I will endeavour to make quotations which will satisfy you, I think, that I have some ground for so doing.

There is growing up in this country undoubtedly a disposition among people who should know better, to forsake their duties and responsibilities as men and as members of this great Empire, whose privileges have come down to them and have enabled them to enjoy the freedom and civilization which they have to-day. But I regret to say that there is one man enjoying the Senatorial dignity and this is his conception of the duties of citizenship, and after I read it to you I will leave you to form your opinion of him, and to say what type of

Canadianism you propose to call his. In the Senate Debates on Thursday, November 28th, 1912, on page 64 will be found these words spoken by the Honourable Senator Cloran, who all through his speech deprecated taking any action whatever in connection with Imperial co-operation or federation of any description, and who also says, "No European power can place a soldier on our shores or fire a shot at sea against us without the United States saying, 'No, it won't be done.' There would be our protection." Then he goes on, "As long as we are tied up with Downing Street and the other interests in England, the United States has nothing to do but permit us to be attacked by Russia, Japan, or China, one of which, probably in a hundred years from now, will be among the mightiest nations on earth." That is his conception of the development of a loyal Canadian, pro-British, pro-Imperial spirit. It is not necessary to say that the man is a traitor. (Hear, hear) He occupies a position which might enable him to thwart the will of the people; he is a Senator and might assist in throwing out some measure adopted by us. He avowedly says he is in favour of the United States protecting us, rather than having us tying ourselves up to Downing Street in any way. I say the man should be stripped of his senatorial dignity, and I think we are recreant to our duties and aspirations if we allow such things as that to go unchallenged. The first time I read the report I was so disgusted I could hardly be patient about it; at the present time I am not less impatient about it, and therefore I read it to you. (Applause)

The point I indicated to you, that is whether Canada shall continue to float along under the protection of the British flag without incurring any expense or any risk, or whether we shall have some strength and some pride —at least enough to enable us to say: "Let us proceed in the proper way to a solution of what may have seemed in the past a difficult problem." Look at Palestine. Palestine is the birthplace of Christianity; there is no liquor drunk in Palestine; the positive and negative conditions are there in perfection, and yet

Palestine is the most God-forsaken desolate hole on the face of the earth. Why? Because the people have no spirit; and the people who would continue to brag and boast of being a nation, as some of our people are forever doing, haven't got the first spark of nationality or nationhood, namely, a pride in themselves and a desire to pay their way like honest men. What would you think of us as individuals if we proceeded to hang to the coat-tails of some great man, and occasionally relieved our gnawing stomachs by sitting at his table or picking up the crumbs on the floor? What would you think if we went out and boasted of our pride and manhood? What would you say? Rotten manhood, nothing in it. Neither is there in that alleged Canadian spirit which can allow matters to go on thus any longer.

It seems to me that the lesson that we should learn and take to heart and preach and exemplify, is that which was preached by the Honourable George Brown at the time of Confederation. You will remember at that time when all these difficulties arose in the country, Sir John Macdonald wished to bring about a legislative union, but the Honourable George Brown said, "No, let there be provincial autonomy, at any rate in all matters of the character that have been outlined in the British North America Act since." This was agreed to; Honourable George Brown was the chairman of the committee which dealt with the matter. To him really belongs the credit of being the Father of Confederation in Canada. There is a disposition sometimes to deprive him of that right, but it does not matter; the records speak for themselves; he was the great heroic figure at the basis of Canadian Confederation. It has worked out to perfection; we find that leaving matters of trade and commerce—(which we do not require to deal with in an Imperial way at all)—matters of the criminal law and so on, to the Federal House, all the things that the provincial people wish to deal with are incorporated in the Act and specially delegated to the provinces chiefly interested, so that they have the utmost liberty with regard to their provincial or domestic concerns. Now this has worked out perfectly satisfactorily. Of course we have a row occasionally, but we cannot get along without some system of binding ourselves together, unless of course we are a lot of wild Indians or anarchists, in which event we are incapable of subjecting ourselves to a proper measure of law or administration. But since that has worked out so perfectly, why does it not suggest itself to us that we apply it to Imperial concerns? (Applause) Since it is responsible government we want, why let us have it as we have it now. The Imperial Conference, the Colonial Conference, the Imperial Defence Committee, or whatever you choose to call it—let that be a body advisory or otherwise, but let it be understood that we are not shirking our duty, and that we are prepared to make an arrangement; and believe me, there's the pith of the present struggle. Are you prepared to make an arrangement with Great Britain, with Australia, with New Zealand, and the other Dominions beyond the Seas, or are you not? If you are not prepared, you cannot convince me that you have got any Imperial spirit or any desire to co-operate. (Applause) If you want to co-operate, say that you are going to co-operate. Look at marriage. Marriage is a sentiment, we trust the purest and noblest of sentiments. How long would living together be permitted or how long would it last without the introduction of the contractual relation? We have a contract that is signed, sealed, and delivered. Because sentiment cannot be trusted, sentiment varies, but if you have sentiment you have that which sentiment prompts, that is the desire to come to an understanding; and if you have the real Imperial sentiment, a desire to co-operate, you will say, "Let us form a contract for a certain length of time, revocable if you will, but make a contract." Do not say responsible government when it is not a case of responsible government. All I have got to say is if I were England I would leave Canada to its fate. People that talk like that do not deserve decent treatment; they are not fair; they are not honest, if I must say it. Anybody who treated me like that would be treated in a very peculiar way in return if they kept it up very long. There has got to be some fair play shown in the matter. Now I have here the minutes of the Colonial Conference; they are the official minutes which I took the trouble to bring with me because copies sometimes do not satisfy people. Here is where I think the trouble began; the cloven hoof appears here. In the discussion of naval defence on May 8, 1907, Mr. Brodeur who spoke for Canada at the request and by the announcement of the Prime Minister of Canada, and of course Canada is the country that speaks here—I am not saying that any political party spoke it, Canada spoke it,—and you will see presently what Tupper said, and I entirely disagree with what he said. Mr. Brodeur said:

"Lord Elgin and Gentlemen,—I have nothing to say except to thank heartily Lord Tweedmouth for having been good enough to recognize what Canada has been doing in regard to its defence." And then he goes on to say, "There was a discussion in previous years to the effect that we should contribute something directly to the British Navy. I may say with regard to that there is only one mind in Canada on that question, and if it was necessary I should be able to quote the remarks made lately in an article published by Sir Charles Tupper, who is certainly one of the men best qualified to speak in Canada upon the question. I think, perhaps, I might mention what he said in regard to this. He said, 'It is known that from the outset I have felt the cause of Canada and the true interests of the Empire to be opposed to the demand for colonial contributions to the Imperial Navy,' and 'I maintain that Canada has discharged that duty in the manner most conducive to Imperial interests.'"

That is, gentlemen of the Empire Club, by doing nothing and pretending to protect her fisheries. So it shows that both sides of politics in Canada agree with the policy that has been going on for some time there. This is in 1907, the announcement to the Conference of what we are prepared to do, that is, we are not prepared to do anything. And how absurd, in my opinion, it is to talk about our sincerity in refusing the creation of an Empire, when we consider that the whole theory of cooperation is involved. Any man who declines to co-operate with another in the interests of peace, is open to the suspicion that he has an *arrière pensée* of some sort. The people in civilized countries co-operate for what purpose? Not for the purposes of rivalry and conflict, but for the purpose of producing peaceful conditions. Do we not want that one country in this world should co-operate with another in order that misunderstandings may be done away with and that these countries may come together from time to time to devise means for quieting and allaying feelings that arise and that might ultimately produce conflict? Isn't that what we want? If it is not what we want, then I am very seriously mistaken. If people decline therefore to come forward and to co-operate on a definite understanding, it is because they want to be by themselves; they want to establish a separate individuality, and the more separate individualities you have in the world the greater the likelihood of conflict and war. It is only by co-operation towards a proper end that peace can possibly be maintained, either in the world at large or in our domestic concerns. (Applause)

Now I wish to quote something further. At the Naval Defence discussion continued on May 9th, 1907, Dr. Smartt said, "Would I be in order in moving this naval resolution after the discussion yesterday? I do not think it would take any time because it is a resolution which requires no remarks to make it acceptable to the Conference." This is the resolution: "That this Conference, recognizing the vast importance of the services rendered by the Navy in the defence of the Empire and the protection of its trade, and the paramount importance of continuing to maintain the Navy in the highest possible state of efficiency, considers it to be the duty of the Dominions beyond the Seas to make such contributions towards the upkeep of the Navy as may be determined by their local legislatures,—a contribution to take the form of a grant of money, the establishment of local naval defence, or such other service in such manner as may be decided after consultation with the Admiralty, and as will best accord with their varying circumstances."

You would think that would, to a large extent, meet the requirements of the occasion; it is indefinite enough to suit anybody, although it expresses a desire to come to closer quarters. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, "I am sorry to say so far as Canada is concerned, we cannot agree to the resolution. We took the ground many years ago that we had enough to do in that respect in our country before committing ourselves to a general claim." Dr. Smartt then says, "Still it is developing and opening up the country to an enormous extent. All the colonies are building themselves up. I understand Canada suggested strongly the other day that some of their other services were in the nature of local defence." But Sir Wilfrid goes on to say, "The resolution can be passed if there is a majority. For my part I must vote against it." And further on he says, "We of the different Dominions beyond the Seas have tried to be unanimous up to the present time. I am sorry to say that this is a question upon which we could not be unanimous. Therefore Dr. Smartt can move it if he choose, or withdraw it. But if he presses it, I shall have to vote against it."

There spoke the Prime Minister of Canada, and from what he said I fancy that is the way Sir Charles Tupper would have spoken. But is that the way the people of Canada want their opinions in this matter to be voiced? I should hope not; I should think not. Whether it be a matter of local defence, as Dr. Smartt says in his resolution, or any other scheme, or whether it be under the control of the Imperial Conference or a Colonial Conference or an Imperial Defence Committee, or anything you like, let us reach the one point that is necessary for us, namely, to agree now to co-operate the very instant the defence of the Empire is required and the Empire is in danger. Let us agree on that. I do not care; I say let Borden's policy go to the winds to-morrow if we can come to a compromise so that we can get that most important of all steps taken, and that step is: "Yes, yes, we agree that when it is said that war is declared or is about to be declared or that we are upon our defence, that we must spring to each other's assistance; all our resources are at your command." But to say as the Act of 1910 says, the Act upon which one party in Canada,—that is the do-nothing party, the standstill party—wish to act, "The Governor-in-Council *may* place the naval forces or any part thereof on active service at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of an emergency." Now that is explained by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who is quoted in Hansard of 1909-10, Vol. 1, page 1,734, where he is introducing Bill No. 95, that "the Act provides that at any time when the Governor-in-Council deems it advisable in case of war, invasion, or insurrection, the force may be called into active service." What sort of an agreement is that? If the Governor-in-Council deems it advisable! The war might be over. What sort of an agreement for co-operation is that? What sort of co-operation in business would it be if a man said, "Well, you go on and I may help you; I will see about it, I won't bind myself, I will see about it." And when the time comes and you are in danger, he says, "Well, let me see, I think I have about all I can do myself, I don't think I will go into this thing." What bank is there that would loan a dollar on such an understanding? What people is there that would contend for one moment that that is any sort of co-operation or any sort of agreement or any sort of federation, confederation, or otherwise? That is my view of it. Other people may think differently, but that is my view of it, and I earnestly hope that before this thing is threshed out, whether it be the Borden policy or somebody else's policy that is adopted, I earnestly hope that the decision will be not to fence any longer, not to indulge in absurd platitudes any longer, but to say, "Yes, we are going to do something, let us hasten to find out how best we can do it, but we want you to understand that when the Empire is at war we are at war." (Hear, hear) Now, the operating clause of Borden's Bill is this way, it is a very inoffensive thing, it is left wide open on purpose—I think Mr. Borden would have been open to severe censure if he had done anything else—it is left this way on purpose that the loyal sentiment may be crystallized, but how it may be crystallized is a matter for future agreement and understanding. Section 5 of his Bill says, "The said sum—that is the sum that is to be devoted to the establishment, whether $35,000,000 or not—shall be paid, used, and applied, and the said ships shall be constructed and placed at the disposal of His Majesty, subject to such terms, conditions, and arrangements as may be agreed upon between the Governor-in-Council and His Majesty's Government." That is all, "as may be agreed upon," assuming of course that an agreement will be reached, but binding us in no way as to the details of that agreement. Do we want to assist or not? If not, why not say to the Old Country, "We have kept up this sham long enough, we intend, as Senator Cloran says, to rely on the Monroe Doctrine, and shelter ourselves like a lot of rank cowards behind a nation that would justly despise us, and amongst whose Senators I doubt if one could be found who would utter sentiments approaching Senator Cloran's about his country." The Americans are too proud-spirited for that; I am very much mistaken if they would not take the most speedy means of kicking him out of their Senate.

Now it must be remembered in order to satisfy the scruples of those people who object to war—I may say I object to it on every account—that while the Scriptures say we should be void of offence, they do not say we should be void of defence, and I think that should be borne in mind. Those people who do not believe in war or in taking any measures to protect themselves always shelter themselves behind the people who do. (Laughter) The people who preach Peace, Peace, will always call Police, Police. Of course they will. Why the whole system of Nature is built upon activity, more or less of conflict, and while we are expecting that some day reason will dominate, it can dominate only by means of co-operation, and if we refuse to co-operate, then, as I said before, we are criminal in our disregard of the first requirement of peace.

The Memorandum from the Admiralty of which you have heard so much is worth quoting because it suggests a way of acting. This memorandum, as you know, was drawn up by the British Admiralty in response to the request of the Prime Minister of Canada to be furnished with some data in order to enable the Parliament of Canada and the people to consider the question. "The Prime Minister of the Dominion having inquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances, that it is desirable that such aid should involve the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply." Now there may be a better way; I do not say that there is not; but if the Admiralty of Great Britain suggests, as it has done, to Canada a way by which they can enter into an immediate bond of union or agreement upon a certain vital question, I should think it is worthy of consideration. "After prolonged consideration," they say, "if you want to co-operate with us, there is your way." I blame Mr. Borden for saying that if the people are not satisfied after this is done, they may reconsider it,—that is the general tenor and trend of his remarks. I think he should have taken a stand, I think he should have announced his permanent policy, because I think the people want it; they do not want any more fooling; but (for mercy's sake) when we say we will give $35,000,000 to an Imperial Navy, and when it is upon an Imperial Navy of Imperial Defence and protection that we depend for our citizenship, I think it is time we did something. If we were walking in South Africa, the humblest Kaffir might give us a clout on the side of the head and say, "What is the matter with hitting him? He is only a Canadian; he is living in the realms of peace over there; we will see how it works." If we were indignant and protested that we were a British citizen, Great Britain, with a certain air of cynical superiority that you could not blame her for would say, "Certainly my dear little Canadian, we who have paid the way for a long time are an Imperial people and we will look after you." And they would look after the poor little

Canadian and he would come back as cocky as ever, and when he is asked for five dollars he would say, "No, I must look after responsible government; I don't mind Britain being responsible to Canada, but God forbid that Canada should ever be responsible to Britain or the other Dominions beyond the Seas. (Laughter and applause)

THE ISLAND PROVINCE—ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE

An Address by the HONOURABLE J. A. MATHESON, Premier of Prince Edward Island, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 30, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I feel it a very great privilege to be able to place before an audience such as this in the city of Toronto something of the record of Prince Edward Island in the past, our present position, and our future hopes. As a colony with a separate government, Prince Edward Island is, in point of time, second in all Canada; Nova Scotia was the first to obtain as a colony a separate legislature. We came in in 1773, one hundred years before Confederation, and during that period we worked out as strenuously as we could all the great problems of colonial government which confronted the different parts of Canada, and our statesmen of those early days did what they could to bring about that happy relation between the colonies and the Mother Land under which the development of Canada has taken place.

In 1864 the first meeting looking towards the Confederation of Canada was held in Charlottetown. There were present the late Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, Sir Georges Ètienne Cartier, Thomas D'Arcy Magee, and a number of other distinguished Canadians. They met in the capital of our Province and carried on their deliberations to a point which settled that a certain number of provinces at least should enter into the union.

Subsequent negotiations were held in the same year at Quebec, and in the end four of the provinces who met together decided to form the Confederation. Prince Edward Island came in a little later, and just at this point I would like to accentuate one claim which we now have and which we desire to urge on the people of Canada, their representatives, and the Government, as a just claim which should be recognized. One reason why Prince Edward Island refused to enter Confederation was that our representatives considered that the allotment of five members, which we were entitled to under the unit of population for representation purposes, was not sufficient, that five members would not suit in a distribution of our electoral district. In the end, when we did enter Confederation, although we were strictly entitled to five only, we were granted six on the full understanding that that was to be the minimum of our representation. We were unfortunate in the wording of the terms; British Columbia has secured the wording that the number of representatives were to be augmented but no provision was made for reduction; we, on the other hand, had another word, which allowed a redistribution with a declining number. That, however, the records prior to Confederation show was no part of the contract in fact; although in the letter and by the strict interpretation of the letter we were subject to redistribution.

I might point this out as one great hardship in relation to that reduction: we were induced to go into Confederation upon the promise that we would, as a Province, be put into immediate and continuous connection with the transportation systems of the mainland. We have waited for forty years, and we only now see that promise in a fair way of fulfilment. The result of the non-fulfilment of that promise was far-reaching. Prior to Confederation, we had our own channels of trade; they were not with Canada, except to a very small extent in the Maritime Provinces. Our trade was directly with Great Britain, with the West Indies, and with Newfoundland; our merchants had built up and established their lines of traffic, and they had ships suitable for traffic of that kind. But by Confederation our trade was thrown into Canadian channels, and it became all the more necessary for our proper development that direct communication with the transportation systems of the mainland should be established. By reason of the disadvantages under which we laboured, we lost our population, and because we lost our population, through the default of Canada, we were to be penalized twice by having our representation taken away. The greater the grievance, the feebler would become our voice in urging the claims of justice. I have spoken of the car ferry. We look forward with confidence to this great work as a remedy for our transportation grievances, and we can thank, to no small extent, the Minister of Railways, Mr. Cochrane, a man of your Province, for the active interest he has taken in promoting that project.

We suffered also from the earliest days of Confederation on account of the insufficiency of the subsidy. We had no public lands from which to derive a revenue. Before Prince Edward Island was born as a colony, its lands were all given away by lottery to favourites of the government of Britain at that time. It cost us $1.600,000 to free ourselves from the burden of absentee landlordism. You in Ontario and in all the Provinces of the West have the resources from your Crown Lands, your forests, and your mines, which contribute largely to your revenue. We had none of those resources from which to derive our revenue, and the amount allowed us by the Dominion proved altogether insufficient. You can judge of that from this fact, that from the day that we entered Confederation until the present year, there never has been one single year in which we have been able to meet our expenditure out of current revenue. We are eating up capital continually. We ate up our capital of $2,500,000 and we were not extravagant. Nowhere in Canada were the salaries of public men and public servants so low. The trouble was that our revenue was insufficient from the very outset. Last year we presented our case before the Government, and we were fortunate in securing some measure of the justice which had been so long delayed. We obtained an addition of $100,000 a year to our subsidy, and in the present year, for the first time in the history of Confederation, we will be able to carry on the public business of the Province without adding anything to the debt and without eating up any of the capital. (Applause)

I have just come from Ottawa, where, in conjunction with the Premier of the Province of New Brunswick, we presented the claims of the Maritime Provinces generally to further consideration, and upon this ground, that when the public lands of Canada were bought they were paid for out of the revenues belonging to the people of Canada as a whole. Afterwards, in 1878, when the Imperial Government handed over to us all the lands in British North America except Newfoundland, it also was partnership land. We complained that one eighteenth of all that land was set aside for school purposes and administered through the local governments of the territories or provinces as the case might be, while we in the east were able to receive none of the territory and none of the benefit to be derived from those lands so set apart. Our claim is based upon that. You will know, gentlemen, that last year Ontario obtained an extension of her boundaries, which is part of that public land. Quebec also obtained an extension out of the public land, but we down by the sea are so situated that it was impossible for us to receive any part of that great national domain; and we think, and we hope to be able to persuade the Government that we are entitled to consideration and that since we cannot get land we should get an equivalent in increase of subsidy. We could use it well, we could use it to advantage, and I think I am within the judgment of every gentleman here when I say that the money that is necessary to enable a province to carry on progressively—not only solvently, but progressively—its local affairs, is money well spent by Canada. (Applause) What we desire above all things is to see Canada progressive and, as nearly as possible, equally progressive from ocean to ocean. (Applause) Lop-sided development where opportunities are very much greater, created so by benefits conferred by Government, is the worst thing we could have.

A day or two ago, in speaking of the matter, I said that I remembered the West when it was a wilderness and when the eastern provinces were strong and progressive because they had the inheritance of generations in their hands; but now the time has come when the West, by the generous aid that has been given by the Government, is able to take all our teachers from us and pay them twice the salaries that we can pay. That is, that we of the eastern provinces—and I mean from Ontario right down to the Atlantic coast—had to bear the burden of the equipment of those western provinces during all those years, and we have been so generous and they have carried the matter so far that we have created conditions for them more favourable than we have at home. The gentleman said, "O, but it is not the teachers alone; we pay higher wages, that is why we get them." But I said, "How did you come to be able to pay the higher wages?" Take the subsidies given to the new western provinces. We do not complain that they are too high, but when you compare them with the subsidies paid to the Maritime Provinces you will find that they are vastly greater. Why, a million and a half is paid to a province in the West where only $680,000 is paid to a province in the East, and the western provinces also have the revenue from those school lands, and new lands in some cases, to the amount of about $200,000 a year; and as the years go by that will grow with every sale of the school lands. There are twenty-six million acres of the public lands of Canada that were set aside for that purpose. Do not for one moment suppose that I am complaining of the generous treatment which those provinces have received; I am only saying that the same generosity which brought forth so much progress there could be very well applied to the older provinces down by the sea, which have not thriven so well in Confederation, although they have borne their share in the burden of establishing all the great things that we have in Canada to-day.

As to the subsidy, I cannot pass that without returning to say that here again another member of the Cabinet from Ontario has rendered us an inestimable service; in the Minister of Finance, Mr. White, we found a man who was capable of understanding the whole financial situation and a man whose sympathy immediately went out to the smaller province which he called "the little sister of Confederation."

Now what will the car ferry do for us? It will, I believe, solve for the people of my Province the difficulties of transportation that have prevented us from entering into competition with the other parts of the world. Our manufactures—we had some at Confederation, but they declined—declined because of the uncertainty of communication. They could not compete with similar manufactures on the mainland. Before that they had been protected by their own tariff, although it was not called protection. But when we entered Canada, we entered upon an equal basis of competition with all the enterprises of the mainland, and we could not hold our own. It is not only that passage in winter is interrupted from time to time, but there is an uncertainty hanging over the whole service that paralyzes the energies of the people. When the winter season sets in, no man can feel himself safe, in being able to send his goods abroad, or to receive them in return. That paralysis has been a condition existing for forty years, but we think we have found the right doctor and that the cure is at hand.

In the matter of agriculture, Prince Edward Island has always had a high reputation and has deserved it. But here again we suffered greatly. All perishable goods were liable to loss or deterioration in shipping. In order to get them out of the Province, we sent them away early in the fall and we glutted the markets, with the result that we received for perishable goods not more than one half of what farmers on the mainland received. The loss has been incalculable in the total. It is no wonder then that many of our people went abroad to places where opportunities seemed to be better.

We have lost in population; it is smaller to-day than when we entered Confederation for the reasons that I have mentioned. And we are penalized in our subsidies by reason of that, where the penalty should, we think, be imposed on the other party to the contract. But one good thing has resulted. You, in Ontario, have done the same thing to a certain extent; so has every province from this down to the sea. You have sent your sons and your daughters to the West, and you missed them from home, and their going has been a loss to their home provinces; but the end is not very far away. In the balance of advantage we will find that emigration from the eastern part of Canada will grow less and less with the growing opportunities of the east. Our sons who have gone into the other provinces have done a work that no others could have done. We are building up in the western half of Canada a population derived from many parts of the world, and many of these people have not had the opportunities of education in free institutions, or the general education which our own people have had. They do not know how to work the institutions of the country. Even those who come out from Britain have much to learn about the new conditions here. The best immigrants that went to the West, the best colonizers were the men and women who went from Eastern Canada. (Applause) And they were absolutely necessary to leaven the mass of population and establish there Canadian views and Canadian methods. But that work is pretty well done; I do not think that we are charged with the responsibility of carrying that on very much further. But I do think that the sacrifices that we have made were sacrifices in the interests of the whole Canadian people and that in the end the reward will come. We have planted men in every important point in Western Canada, and in most of the important positions we have men of eastern birth and eastern experience and, above all things, of eastern sympathy, and the value of that sympathy we can hardly measure. The two parts of Canada are divided by a wide area of desert, shall we say; geographically we may say that one part of Canada is west and the other part is east, but when our eastern population has flowed over the whole West and are there occupying positions of importance and power, we have the greatest guarantee possible that the east and the west will be united in their sympathies and united in their efforts for the future. (Applause)

I have wandered rather far away from Prince Edward Island. Our greatest industry is agriculture, and here again a forward movement has been made that has filled our people with hope. Mr. Burrell, the Minister of Agriculture, who, I think, also claims some relation to this Province, has seized upon this question strongly; and in the proposed distribution of the money to be applied to agricultural purposes our little Province has been most generously treated. (Applause)

In the year that is past we have advanced so far that we have been able to open an agricultural school, and I have just had word that when the roll was called there were over five hundred students in attendance. Under the plan that is now before Parliament, if it is carried through, we shall be enabled to introduce into our public schools the teaching of Nature Study; we shall be able to equip ourselves in such a way that every scholar throughout the country may take up that most interesting of all studies, the study of Nature; and we hope to carry that on grade by grade until those who wish to specialize in farming and make a profession of farming may obtain their complete training in a central school within the Province itself. The advantage of bringing education near to the farmer was never more strongly illustrated than in our own case. We used to pay the expenses of the students to go to Nova Scotia and attend an excellent school there, and the Government of Nova Scotia very generously charged no fees; our Government thought that its duty was being done. The highest number that ever went was over eighty. But since the opportunity has been brought nearer home, the result has been that six or seven times as many have taken advantage of it. Now that is the position in which we stand agriculturally. You have heard the Province referred to, as other parts of Canada have been referred to, as the Garden Province. There is no question that, taking acre for acre, we have perhaps as fine an agricultural piece of territory as can be found, not excepting Ontario, which has some magnificent agricultural areas.

Our other great source of revenue is the fisheries. We have the food fish that command the highest price in the world, the lobsters and oysters. The lobster fishery is one of long standing, as is the oyster fishery; but the oyster fishery in its new development is something of a very recent date. From the earliest times the Island oysters have been famous, and prices paid for them were the highest paid for any oysters in the world. That was very good for those who had oysters to sell, but it was hard on the oysters. (Laughter) They raked the beds and kept them raked, so that the poor little oysters, instead of leading a dull life as nature intended they should, were kept on the move continually, and as the price mounted higher the fishing became more intense and the number to be caught became less, until we managed to reduce the catch down to twenty per cent. of its maximum, and we would soon have managed to wipe out that twenty per cent.

The reason nothing was done in connection with cultivating and developing the oyster in the waters around Prince Edward Island was that there was a divided jurisdiction between the Island and Canada; no one could tell where the right of one began and the other ended; and although negotiations went on for years in the hope of some settlement, nothing was done until last year, when we were fortunate enough to procure the passing of a Statute which enabled the Government to transfer their interest in the disputed areas to the Province. Under that Statute we took out an agreement; and having opened the door, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and British Columbia have since followed; and we are very glad, indeed, that we were able to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs not only for ourselves but for these other provinces. We wish to see every province develop its resources to the fullest possible extent. As a result of these proceedings we have had surveys made of the areas in the bottoms of the bays and harbours, and 20,000 acres laid off in five-acre blocks. Up to the 31st of December last, although only two months since the surveys were completed, between three thousand and four thousand acres have been leased to private owners for oyster culture, and we hope before the present year is past that an area of four or five times that amount will be added, and that year by year we will be able to extend our oyster plantations until we will have brought into active use the whole of the areas around our coast suitable for that purpose. We have at least a hundred thousand acres of land suitable for the growing of oysters. The New England States, producing an article very much inferior, and in conditions not nearly so favourable, have developed their fisheries until here is the comparison: Fourteen years ago the State of Rhode Island derived from its oyster leases $6,000; last year, as a result of their development under private ownership, they had reached a total of $133,000. And they have leased only as much in lots as we have in a single bay in our Province, in Richmond Bay which is the home of the Malpeque oyster. We have in Richmond Bay to-day, ready for leasing in blocks of five acres, some thirteen thousand acres, and there is no question that that will rapidly be taken up, for wherever oysters are known the Malpeque oyster heads the list. He is the aristocrat among all the fish.

This work cannot be done without much labour and very considerable experience. If we look for a few minutes at the early life of the oyster, we shall see just what he needs, and some of the conditions we require to make for him in order that he may prove that brilliant success in life which he was intended to be. The oyster is very prolific—and I speak now on the authority of Dr. Stafford—is capable of producing in a season sixteen million eggs. I may say that I never counted them, but Dr. Stafford, I have no doubt, arrived at the conclusion upon a proper basis. These hatch very quickly —in four or five days if the temperature of the water suits—and then the little fellows have the time of their lives. They swim about and have all the fun they are going to have for the rest of their lives. After about a month their shell has formed enough to sink. At this time they are first visible to the naked eye. When they sink down, they have a little foot like a clam, with which they crawl, and they seek some place to which they can attach themselves. What they are afraid of is that if they do not attach themselves firmly, the tides will bear them out to sea, or the crabs or other fish will eat them, or that they will sink in the mud and be choked. They are looking for some hard substance to which they can cement themselves. Each one is fitted out with a little bit of cement, and if he can only manage to get that to stick he will save his life. If he happens to attach it to something covered with slime it slips, and his career of usefulness is at an end. But if it sticks, he is all right. In the fitting out of beds we have to keep this in mind. If the bottom is mud we must pave it; we must keep him from sinking in the mud; and in order to provide suitable points of attachment we must have hard, smooth, clean substances free from slime. The best thing of all is the clean oyster shell,—the shells of dead oysters which have been piled on the shore, rain-washed and sun-dried. With these properly scattered over the paved bottom the safety of the crop is assured. The amount which an area can produce is very large. I have authority that I think justifies me in stating that one man this year, from an area a little over five acres, took a crop of eight hundred barrels which he sold at $8.50 a barrel. The Malpeque oyster commands a price double that which is paid for the American oysters. And if the standard is maintained, as we intend that it shall be maintained, I have no doubt that that advantage will continue. Our plan is that we should have a careful inspection made, a rigid inspection, and a stamping of every package containing oysters, so that when the purchaser buys an article with a certain stamp and grade, he shall know that he is getting precisely what that stamp says. (Applause) This industry promises well for the Province of Prince Edward Island, not only in the great general advantage that will come to our people in the employment which it will give and the profit which they will derive, but also in the revenue which we hope to receive as a Government from the rental derived from these leases.

Another industry, one of a different order, that has sprung up, in one sense, very rapidly and has made large fortunes for a number of people, is the black fox industry. I suppose you have all heard about that. Something over a quarter of a century ago, Mr. Charles Dalton, who is now a member of my Government, obtained a pair of wild black foxes which he kept in captivity and, after many experiments and many failures, he was able at last to understand their nature and habits sufficiently to raise them on a regular paying basis. He knew them well enough; he got to know them a great deal better than they knew themselves. He was able to save their litters of young, which they had formerly destroyed, and soon they multiplied. He sold the pelts for many years but sold no live foxes. A few years ago the system changed, and he and a number of others to whom he had sold some when the embargo was first broken, began to place the live foxes on the market. You could buy them first for $1,000 a piece, but the price went up year by year until at the present time I cannot tell you what it is. I could tell you what it was a fortnight ago, but I have very little idea what it is to-day. One Company that has been formed has taken over twenty pairs of foxes for $600,000, that is $30,000 a pair. And prices such as that are quoted every day. I may say that I am not one of the fortunate ones who is engaged in the industry, and I am tired of hearing the talk about it. Nevertheless it has made the fortunes of some men; it has made Mr. Dalton—and he deserves it well—a millionaire, and many others have fortunes that rise up pretty well to that point. Then the stock and incorporated companies owning numbers of foxes have spread far and wide among the people of the province, and there are a large number now interested and deriving profits. I do not know precisely what the number of breeding foxes on the Island is at present; I think we are safe in saying that there are about two hundred and fifty pairs, all good standard black and silver foxes; and a large number have been sold into the other Maritime Provinces. The estimate of value that was made by an expert before the Conservation Commission in Ottawa the other day was that there were six million dollars' worth of foxes in the Maritime Provinces, and something over four million of those were owned in Prince Edward Island. That is another of the industries which has been of some benefit in the past, and which we hope may be of future benefit to us; but I will say this, that it does not promise that continuance and permanence that the oyster fisheries do.

Now, gentlemen, I have taken up all my time and perhaps a little more. I very much appreciate the attention you have given and the opportunity I have had to present—ineffectively, I am afraid—the condition of affairs in Prince Edward Island, and in the Maritime Provinces generally. Let me say that there is there a spirit of optimism which I have never before seen, and that is the spirit which we are cultivating, because we have there resources and opportunities which have been neglected, partly for want of means, partly because our energies with our youth, were carried away to other parts of the world. This we hope to see all changed. It is changing now before our eyes and, if it is my good fortune in a few years' time to meet you gentlemen here again, I hope I shall be able to say to you that the decline in population from which we suffered has ceased, and that we are able not only to hold the natural increase of our own people, but we are in a position to draw from the old countries some assistance in the way of population in order to strengthen and increase our own population. (Applause)

OUR NORTHLAND, ITS PEOPLE AND RESOURCES

An Address by MR. VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 6, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Possibly you may have expected from me some narrative of my work in the north, but selfishly yet still with your interests in mind, I am not going to give you any narrative. I am going to present to you some of the resources of Canada, and make an appeal to you as public-spirited citizens of the Empire to try to protect and perpetuate those resources.

The then Geographer of Canada, Mr. White, published a map in 1906, Map No. 29 I think it is, in the Atlas of Canada, on which you will find that Victoria Land is labelled in red as uninhabited by human beings. Mr. White is a man of wide and exact information—it is a misfortune for Canada that he is not now in the position in which he then was—but he could not put on the map any later information than he had at hand, and he was not himself an explorer and had not been in that part of the country. It is a matter of fact that that country is inhabited by about two thousand Eskimo. These Eskimo are a resource to the country because they are the only people who can ever make that country of any value so far as we can see, unless minerals are discovered there, which I hope may not be the case, for the sake of the Eskimo. (Laughter) These Eskimo hunt for a living with bows and arrows and spears and harpoons; they had not heard the report of a rifle or seen a sulphur match lighted until I came—at least those around Dolphin and Union Strait had not, and the ones from the Coppermine east to Grace Bay had not. There was one family who had come in contact with David Hanbury in 1903 or 1904, and there is also a group that traders from Hudson Bay are reaching now.

On account of their weapons and the peculiar conditions of their country, they live for three months of the year on caribou, which they shoot with bows and arrows, and for nine months they live on seals. The caribou are there in millions. In Banks Land the caribou never leave the island, stay there winter and summer; in Victoria Land they come in tens of thousands from the south in the spring, stay there and drop their fawns, and come back south in the fall to the mainland again. The Eskimo hunt them in the summer, kill only as many as they need, and hunt them at a season when the animals are fat and the skins are suitable for clothing. Now, the traders are beginning to come in; their rifles will soon replace the bows and arrows; and then the Eskimo will find that they can easily kill caribou at any time of year, so that instead of living on caribou for three months they will live on caribou for twelve months. This will quadruple the consumption of caribou.

Another feature is that the dog among the Eskimo to-day is not a draft animal primarily, he is a hunting animal; he is used by the Eskimo for the finding of seal holes under the snow. Consequently our hunter has only one dog; he hasn't any more because it is not convenient for him, under the present arrangement, to support any more. But the coming of the rifle will make it easy to support any number of dogs, and the Eskimo will develop large dog teams. The same thing happened in the Baillie Island District and the Mackenzie District a few years ago. In that District they had one dog to a family twelve years ago, and now they have fifteen to a family. Here is another thing that will increase the consumption of caribou. Instead of feeding one dog the Eskimo will be feeding twelve or fifteen. That will greatly increase the consumption.

In Alaska there is a great market for caribou skins among the miners and Eskimo. The caribou of Alaska have been destroyed by carelessness; no one took steps to save them, and they are now a thing of the past. If the Government takes no precautions, traders will come into our districts and buy caribou skins, and the Eskimo will begin with their modern rifles and hunt them for the market. I have known men who in August and September killed three or four hundred caribou, and by October they were starving. The same thing will happen with the caribou which happened with the buffalo. The buffalo had to go because he encumbered the farming lands; but there is no reason why the caribou should go, because he is in an unfertile country, a country of no earthly use as far as we can see unless minerals are discovered. Some one said to me the other day, "The thing to do is to kill off the caribou as quickly as possible and then do, as Grenfell did, import reindeer." But the caribou are nothing but reindeer, and if you protect them intelligently you have your reindeer there already; it is a minor scientific difference that differentiates between the caribou and the reindeer. If, on the Slave Lake or the Great Bear Lake, you were to try to get the Slaves or Yellow Knives to stop killing caribou all the year round, you would have trouble. They would say, "Our ancestors have killed them all the time, and why shouldn't we?" But the Eskimo are in the habit of killing only three months a year, and all the Government has to do, if it takes them in time, is to step in and maintain the status quo, and there will be no murmurings because they have known nothing different.

There is, on the American side of the line, the saying that the only good Indian is a dead Indian; that was so because the Indian, as well as the buffalo, encumbered the farmer's land. But in the north the only good Indian is a live Indian, because he secures furs. That is one of the reasons why the Hudson's Bay Company had a policy so diametrically opposed to the policy of the American Government. That is one of the reasons that has kept the Indian in the northern part of this country. If it be true of the Indian in the Hudson Bay and Mackenzie River Districts that the only good Indian is a live Indian, it is more true of the Eskimo, because he inhabits the fringe of your country, which cannot be used by anybody so well as by him. At present, in most of the tribes that I discovered, the Eskimo kill only enough caribou to clothe themselves; some do not kill enough; the tribe at Cape Bechsell kill only about half enough for sleds and bows, and they buy in skins to dress from other tribes. The Eskimo in Victoria Land district will trap wolves, when traders go in and sell them traps. Wolves live on caribou, and there are many wolves there. On one occasion, when we left the Eskimo women of our party behind in camp and the men went away hunting, the wolves came and for two days sat around our tent in a circle and kept the women and dogs indoors. Those wolves were fattened on caribou. The traders will teach the Eskimo to trap wolves. Each wolf killed means a great many caribou saved, and you can double the consumption of caribou (above the present rate) and still keep the balance even by killing the wolves. The machinery is at your hand. The Eskimo everywhere have shown a disposition to obey the Mounted Police in Herschell Island. And I am sure, if the missionaries were clothed with authority by the Government, they could be made an arm of the Government in enforcing any intelligent regulations. If the Government will step in now, before the habits of the Eskimo change, and pass wise laws which they have the machinery to enforce, the caribou in millions can be protected forever as one of the resources of Canada and the Eskimo will also be protected. If you let the caribou be killed off, the Eskimo will do as they now do in Mackenzie District, they will dress in the Hudson Bay blanket. Those Eskimo cannot go out in winter; that was never true while they dressed in caribou skins.

In Alaska sportsmen are willing to pay licenses of three or four hundred dollars for the privilege of killing a few animals each year, and highly paid guides are maintained who have permanent employment in accompanying sportsmen, so that in that way also the caribou, if intelligently protected, will be a resource.

There is another thing needed in order to protect these Eskimo, besides the protection of the caribou, and that is an intelligent quarantine. There are certain diseases, notably measles, which will kill the Eskimo like flies. Among other things we have developed to a high degree of efficiency are certain kinds of germs, and the germ of measles is especially virulent when it attacks the Eskimo. We do not know what the Black Death must have been in Europe. One of the newspapers reported me as saying that the Black Death was nothing but measles, that has not been proven; but it is quite likely the doctors will stand by me when I say that it is probable that the first time measles came to Europe they were no less fatal than the Black Death. But it killed off the susceptibles and left the immunes; then the next time it killed off susceptibles and left immunes, until now we are all immunes, and measles are not any more serious than cold in the head. Not so with the Eskimo. I know a family at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, thirteen in number; within two weeks eleven died of measles. The other day I was in the University of Iowa and I was speaking to a distinguished Canadian doctor; he was a pupil of Dr. Osler's. He said to me a thing which is well known, that on an island in the South Pacific a British gunboat crew went ashore and carried measles. An epidemic came and carried off seventy-five per cent. of the people. I said, "If you had had ten years' notice of that epidemic and had unlimited money to instal hospitals and so on, do you think you could have done anything to stop that epidemic?" He said, "No, practically nothing." That is the present status of medicine in regard to measles. But one thing you can do is to quarantine. I gave out an interview to this effect in September, and among the many interesting commentaries I received was one from the British Governor of the Soudan, Sir Reginald Wingate. He wrote to a mutual friend saying, "Stefansson's proposal to quarantine the Eskimo is practical and it ought to be done. Here we are doing the same thing for sleeping sickness and doing it successfully." There are practically only two gateways, one by the ocean to the west through Baillie Island, where Mounted Police could inspect any traffic, and the other by Great Bear Lake. It is simple, as compared with the problem Sir Reginald Wingate is facing.

Next to measles, in point of danger, I should put syphilis. It is deadly in many ways. Last winter, a year ago, three men out of a population of forty at

Baillie Island went insane as an after effect of syphilis—incurably insane—and that is apart from the people that died of it. There are men there whose tongues are gone, and who have sores all over their bodies. Measles, syphilis, increase of pulmonary consumption, diseases from unhealthful food, all have co-operated in the Mackenzie District to bring down the Eskimo population in sixty years from two thousand to forty,—and since that time six individuals have died, so far as I know. That is the effect of civilization as introduced into the Mackenzie District, and if you don't do anything at all the same thing will happen in Coronation Gulf. You have the machinery, the Conservation Commission. It is up to the Government to do something for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the commercial interests of the country, for the sake of perpetuating your resources.

There is another thing that interests me which I should like to present to you also, and that is my own plans for another expedition. (Applause) It will be my third. There are two gentlemen present here today, Bishop Reeve and Mr. Stewart, who were my companions when we went down the Mackenzie in 1906. At that time I expected to meet a ship at the mouth of the Mackenzie; the ship never came, fortunately for me, for it gave me an exceptional opportunity for studying the Eskimo. I lived in their houses for thirteen months and got the beginning of an understanding of their lives and character. That expedition was under the auspices of Toronto University and Harvard University. My second was in 1908. I went down the Mackenzie again, having as my companion Dr. Anderson, the zoologist. I remained in the country four and a half years, did about ten thousand miles of sled and foot travelling along the coast of North America, and brought back results, some of which you have heard of, and scientific collections numbering in the neighbourhood of thirty thousand specimens. (Applause)

My present plan is a more ambitious one. The four years and a half cost us only ten thousand dollars; it is probably the cheapest Arctic expedition that ever went north, because we lived on the country. For fourteen months, for instance, we lived entirely on the country, and did not carry salt or tea, but simply had rifles and matches and cooking gear. This time I want to provide better transportation facilities; I want also to have a scientific staff. I am an archeologist and ethnologist; we want magnetic surveyors, geologists, biologists, etc. That involves more expense. There is an area of about a million square miles north of Canada and north of Alaska still unexplored. We have no idea whether it is all land or all water, or partly land and partly water. For the purpose of exploring it we want a ship, and our plan is to sail north of Herschell Island, north of Canada, into the waters which are usually open. Whalers were often there last year; and in 1906 a whaler was two hundred miles north of Herschell Island and never saw a cake of ice. Her captain returned because he had no interest in exploration and did not think the whales went any further north. We cannot sail far if there are no northwest winds, but with their assistance we should make a considerable distance. By means of that ship we hope, possibly, to extend the bounds of the Empire. We hope to find new land north of Canada; and if we do not find land we shall, at all events, be adding to our knowledge of the country. We shall ascertain the oceanic depths, investigate the geology of the country, and determine the range of the prehistoric migrations of the Eskimo.

If by water we can reach no new land, we hope to establish a base on southwest Prince Patrick Land nine hundred miles northeast of Mackenzie River, and from that base by sledges in winter, we expect to explore the frozen ocean west, north, and northwest from there. From a second base in Victoria Land we shall work down to Coronation Gulf, Great Bear Lake, and eastward to King William Land. It has been our good fortune to add a river over five hundred miles in length to the map of Canada. Richardson, in 1820, went along the coast; he entered the mouth of the River Horton, the River Jardine, and the mouths of several rivers. They are all there, but the Jardine is a creek about six miles long that you can jump over, while the Horton is five hundred miles in length, as big as the Coppermine. Even on our mainland there is need for exploration. For many reasons I am hoping that Canada, either the Government or the Institutions of Canada, or individuals, may think it worth their while to support our enterprise. (Applause)

But really what I have more at heart than anything else is that you do something, something intelligent, for the Eskimo. That is the thing, really, that I am pleading for now. That is what brought me to Canada, and it is more or less incidental that I am trying to get support for another expedition. It seems to me so self-evident that you ought to lock the door before the horse is stolen. It is also unfortunate that nobody seems to see the need of locking the door, usually, until the horse is stolen. Consider all that you know of Alaska and the effects of civilization in general on a primitive people; and then look at Greenland where the Danish government is maintaining an intelligent quarantine, and where the population is increasing. Canada allows the population, as in Mackenzie, to dwindle from two thousand down to forty, while Greenland is building it up until it is now about eleven thousand. That is what you should do,—take a leaf from the book of Denmark and do likewise. (Applause)

A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Stewart, and seconded by Bishop Reeve, both of whom gave reminiscences of the trip they had taken with Mr. Stefansson.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

An Address by the MOST REV. NEIL MCNEIL, Archbishop of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 13, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

As I understand, you receive here two classes of discourses, one that is finished and elaborated in such a way that it can be published in your Annual Reports, and the other just informal talks from men who are too busy to prepare anything for publication; and I wish to tell you that the discourse to-day is of the latter kind. I am just going to talk; I am not going to try to make a speech.

I wish to tell you something about British Columbia, perhaps nothing new. I know that when I went out there I learned a great many things that I never knew before. For instance, it may not add anything to your knowledge of geography, but I learned something new when I had to travel from Vancouver to visit the south-eastern corner of British Columbia. British Columbia is bounded on the south by the State of Washington, the State of Idaho, and about a hundred miles of the State of Montana, and we found, as railway matters are at present, that the quickest way to go from Vancouver to Fernie, for instance, in the Crowsnest Pass, is to go into the State of Washington and by the Great Northern Railway till you get opposite the Kootenay District, and then turn in and travel east in British Columbia. They are now building roads that will shorten the distance and make the route a very much straighter one between Vancouver and the Kootenay District. It was a great problem how to get over the Hope Mountain, as they call it, about seventy-five miles east of Vancouver. But they are at work now, two different railways, the Canadian Pacific and the Great Northern, or Jim Hill's road, as they say out there, and they are going to be over the Hope Mountain perhaps next year, perhaps the year after.

British Columbia is a vast territory. You might take out of it a territory large enough to make the German Empire, and then after that take other countries as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland, and still have territory enough left to make a very respectable province. You may imagine it as a rectangle approximately some five hundred miles wide and eight hundred miles long. What is going to be the future of that country? I have come back from the west with this impression that, if Ontario is going to continue to be called the Banner Province, it has got to hustle, as they say out west. When you consider the vast extent of that territory and its geographical position and resources, I think, really, that it is going to be one of the most influential and one of the most populous provinces of Canada in the future.

You have there almost every variety of climate, every variety of the temperate zone anyway, and that variety of climate is one of its advantages. You have, on the coast, a climate very much like that of the British Isles, and for the same reason. British Columbia occupies, relatively to the Pacific Ocean, exactly the position of the British Isles relatively to the Atlantic Ocean. The same movement of currents and that north-east trend of warm water that modifies the climate of the British Islands has exactly the same effect in British Columbia. I know by intercourse with them, that people who come from England, Scotland, and Ireland and settle in British Columbia, feel perfectly at home as regards climate. They see very little difference. Of course I speak of the coast climate, such as the climate of Vancouver Island or of the mainland, no matter how far north you go. That is the peculiarity of it; without the influence of the ocean, Prince Rupert, between five and six hundred miles north of Vancouver, would have a totally different climate. That difference of latitude would in itself make a vast difference in climate, but the influence of the ocean is such that the change is very slight. The climate of Queen Charlotte Islands, opposite

Prince Rupert, is almost exactly like the climate of Ireland, the latitude is about the same, the length of day in summer is about the same, and the aspect of everything, the farming lands, minerals, and other things is very similar.

With regard to the resources of the country, if you take them in the order of their importance I do not know exactly with which one to begin. When I was coming away from Vancouver I was so very busy that I did not gather up the books that would serve to give me statistics in detail, and give you detailed knowledge. You can get it from any library; but, in a general way, the industries are mining, lumbering, fishing, and farming. As a compliment to the Empire Club, I should perhaps begin with fishing, because there is just a little bit of Imperialism involved,—and it may not be small either. Although fishing as yet is not the most important industry in British Columbia,—important as it is, and extensive as it is,—three years ago one would have been justified in saying that the Japanese were going to control the fisheries. At that time there were some eight or ten thousand Japanese in British Columbia—I have not seen the last census on that point, so I am not sure of the figure—but the Japanese really seemed to have control of the fisheries, not merely in the number of men employed, but in the management of the crafts, and in the financing of the business, and that would be a serious matter if it went on and developed. If, for instance, one were told to-day that the headquarters of the Japanese Navy knows more about the charts and details of the coast of British Columbia than is known at headquarters in London, I for one should not be very much surprised. They have their men there, and we do not know how many of them are taking soundings, mapping out charts, and so on,—with no hostile purpose at all perhaps, but still they have their men on the ground. To-day that is being modified. A certain number of companies have been organized, and have gradually taken hold, and are getting control of the fisheries of the coast of British Columbia, and these companies apparently have made it their policy to secure British control instead of Japanese control on that coast. (Applause)

One of the forms of fishing out there, if it can be called fishing, is killing whales and using various parts of the animal; and a fishery that will probably develop to a great extent is the cod fishery. I am told—I do not know, for it is not yet exploited—that on the banks that are out from the Queen Charlotte Islands they find cod exactly similar to the Atlantic cod. You all know how important the salmon fishery is. The salmon comes into the rivers there, crowds into the rivers; locally they call it sockeye, that is one of the species that is sought for most in the rivers. When our missionaries went to evangelize the Indians up the Fraser River they found that they did not know anything about bread, and it was a puzzle how to teach them in the Lord's Prayer to say: "Give us this day our daily bread." The Indians did not know what it meant, but the missionaries found that they would understand very well the substance of it if they said, "Give us this day our daily salmon." The Indians apparently lived practically on salmon all the year round. That fishery, as regards the Fraser River, is likely to diminish. The industries that the growing up on the banks of the Fraser, the result, in a word, of civilized life, will probably interfere largely with, and perhaps even hinder altogether, the ascent of the salmon up the Fraser River. But even if no salmon ever went up the Fraser, there are still many rivers up the coast, the Skeena, and many others, into which the salmon will always go, and it is not likely that those northern inlets will ever be sufficiently inhabited to interfere very materially with this product of British Columbia.

The mineral resources are as yet barely touched. Copper is the most important mineral at present dealt with in British Columbia; it goes up to eight or ten million dollars a year. After that comes gold, and then, I believe, in the order of production, coal, lead, silver, and some other metals of various kinds. Men are always experimenting, always prospecting and, of course always speculating. Mining is one of the most tempting forms of gambling that one can meet with. Those who get into it seem quite unable ever to shake off the habit; there is always the hope of finding something to-morrow. It is really wonderful to find immense coal beds right at the foot of the Rocky Mountains; here you have the mountains all around you, and there at the foot of one of them is an immense bed of coal, such as they have in the Crowsnest Pass, where it is being mined in large quantities. And then you go through the country and you find it in the valleys. You go over to Vancouver Island, and there they are shipping millions of tons every year. When you go up north where the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway is building across the country, you have, I am told, large beds of anthracite coal. So, with immense beds of coal all over the country, and large deposits of iron in different places, with other minerals scattered everywhere, and the country as yet only half or a quarter explored, I think that one is perfectly safe in inferring that British Columbia is really going to be a rich and powerful province. At least the world believes so. You find the moneyed men of Europe, of France, Belgium, Germany, and of course England, really interested in what is going on in British Columbia. Perhaps they are interested in what is going on in every part of Canada for aught I know, but I have occasion to know that for some reason or other, they are intensely interested in what is going on in British Columbia. I think, probably, they have been studying the resources of the country, and they know. One result is that they have agents in Vancouver, they invest a great deal of money out there, millions of dollars every year, and of course they hold a great deal of real estate and mining property throughout the country.

I am quite incapable of giving you an adequate idea of the extent of the lumbering, but it comes next to mining, if it is not ahead of it, in value of output.

I do not know whether I should include among the industries what they call real estate, or not. (Laughter) There are a good many men employed in it I know, and of course there are a good many men who are making money in it; but if you think that there is some kind of habitual boom going on in Vancouver, you are very far astray. There is really no boom in Vancouver itself. Sometimes they get up a flurry in places outside the city like Coquitlam, but I was there two years and a half and I did not see any sign of a real estate boom in the city of Vancouver during that time. Things go on, of course, somewhat rapidly, because it is really a rapidly growing city, and a rapidly growing country, and the world is interested, and therefore the activity is great; but it is great because of the expectation of the business world that it is going to be a great place. The highest point to which real estate rose before I left was $6,000 a foot, and there was nothing speculative in that price, because it was one of the banks that paid it. (Laughter) Ten years ago, the city of Vancouver was a city of about 30,000 people. To-day it is a city of approximately 150,000. The census gives a little over 100,000 but that is only the legal city, the city that is described by boundaries in the law; but the suburbs are, practically, part of the city and, if you take in South Vancouver and Point Grey, you will have a city of approximately 150,000 people, and the growth will continue there as it will continue, no doubt, in Toronto.

The site is magnificent, with its scenery and shipping facilities, and the harbour is open all the year round. We never see a sign of ice upon the water there. I may tell you that on the seventh day of February last year I saw in British Columbia a new leaf on a tree out-of-doors. When I left Vancouver on the fifteenth of December I could have taken a rose from the lawn of the house in which I lived, and I am sorry I did not bring it. They are not in the least bit troubled with ice or snow. They tell me they had a good deal of snow there this year, but certainly nothing will interfere with the shipping from the Port of Vancouver any time of the year. Then four miles south of that harbour you have the Fraser River, a magnificent river, and they have shipping facilities up the river, twenty or thirty miles or more. Taking it all in all, with the country back of it, with the site of it, the mountains surrounding it, and every facility for communication, nothing but an earthquake or a European war or something like that will arrest its growth.

Two or three years ago the City Council adopted what they call the Single Tax. They call it that, but of course it is not that. (Laughter) I am perhaps skating on thin ice, but I just want to state the facts. They were not facing or thinking of any theory; they were too much in earnest about it for that; they were facing a condition, and the condition was this: The City Council had to deal with lots that were owned perhaps in New York or Europe or Montreal or Toronto, and the question was how could they deal with them on a fair basis. They had to carry their water-mains and their sewers and their sidewalks and so on right past those vacant lots that were held by men in Paris or New York or Montreal or elsewhere, and were held for speculation. Of course tourists went out there, for the climate perhaps, or the scenery, or the mountains, and would buy lots—the real estate men would see to that. And then the real estate men would get into communication by correspondence and advertising with people away in different parts of Canada and other parts of the world; and consequently the city of Vancouver had to deal with a situation that was peculiar. In 1895 they said to themselves, "We will put things on a fair basis this way; we will tax the improvements,—buildings—at fifty per cent. of their assessed value and we will tax land the full hundred per cent. of its assessed value." That went on for ten years, and then they decided to take another twenty-five per cent. off the improvements, and then for three years the buildings or improvements were taxed at only twenty-five per cent. of their assessed value. Then in the following year, whether it was that they did not think it worth while to bother with that twenty-five per cent., or whether there was some party or theoretical interest involved, really I do not know; but they knocked that twenty-five per cent. off altogether, and then buildings were exempted. Now there is only one other fact in that connection I think it well to add, and it is this, that there is at the present time a considerable body of opinion in Vancouver to this effect, that, however necessary that species of single tax may have been as a temporary expedient, it is not a thing to be adopted permanently. Opinion is divided on that point. They find, as a matter of fact, that it tends to crowd houses together in the residential districts, or in the business districts, and then—I am speaking now of what I used to hear people say—there seems to be, and I am sure there is, a sense of injustice, a feeling that justice is hurt by the sight of an immense building or an immense property, a property worth say a million dollars and taking revenue from ten to fifteen floors and paying only the same amount of tax as a two-story building beside it. I have heard that frequently. Perhaps there is another thing I might add, namely, in that system there are no exemptions; churches are not exempted there. Suppose that to be the case, then you have a hardship that is really an injustice. Here is a species of building that literally cannot have more than one story. "Can't" is of course a large word; I heard of one congregation in the business district of Vancouver that were speaking of building a skyscraper and using the two top floors for a church. (Laughter) Of course such things are possible, but the general feeling would be against that sort of thing, and in the down-town district with a building such as a church where you can have only one or two stories, the result of that species of taxation is to drive them out of the business district altogether. I know one church property in Victoria which was taxed last year for, I think, $4,000, and that amount had to be raised by a congregation that would be called small in the city of Toronto. The result was that they decided to sell and build in another part of the city where taxes will not be so high. They must do it; they are driven out.

I thank you kindly, gentlemen, for listening to this rambling talk. The next time I hope to be one of the listeners myself.

TWO TOKENS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS

An Address by Rev. R. E. Knowles, of Galt, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 27, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

There is nothing, I should think, more reassuring than this token, that we are gathered together, with many others in a similar capacity, for an interest in affairs beyond our own somewhat limited lives. There is nothing more wholesome, nothing more salubrious to the whole life of our nation than this detachment from the individual interest and the merging with the interest of the community as a whole. I think that is the one high purpose of these Clubs, and I know of few serving it more successfully than this Club which bears an Imperial name, which name finds significance in the hearts of all the members.

Of course you will have to define what progress really is. I suppose there is hardly any term more cryptic and more capable of misinterpretation than progress. Some think it can be determined only from Bradstreet or Dun in the individual or national life. We say of a man, "How is he getting along?" "Oh, very well, he has bought a slice of land on this street and sold it for so much more than he paid for it." There is a vast realm that is not to be measured in that way. For instance the physical realm, the moral realm, the intellectual realm, and the domestic realm, to say nothing of the higher hemispheres of life, all of which must be considered if you are going, in any complete and full-orbed sense, to say whether a man is getting on or not. Many of us would revise our estimates if we only knew the fulness of that term. Sometimes success is not all success. What is true of individuals is true of nations, such as we deem ourselves to be. I suppose Rome thought it was getting on well, and so did Greece, yet the hectic flush of death was on the cheek of one, and the pallor of decay on the brow of the other. It is possible that we have that peril to-day—the intoxication of an exuberant prosperity.

There are some things of a material kind that indicate progress. The first is the improvement in the condition of two classes of people, and the first of these two classes is the poor. I live a great deal among the poor; whenever I am not away from home I am dwelling among the poor, I am thoroughly familiar with their circumstances, and I think it is one of the signs of the times that we have a growing sense of responsibility for the condition of the poor. I think we too often judge our national progress and success in terms of skyscrapers; I do not mean anything local or structural, but we do feel that the climax reached there is indicative of national progress, forgetting that the average must determine it. We sometimes think we are a successful country because we are beginning to count our millionaires as they do in New York, not only the open and visible ones but the clandestine ones that may lurk all about us. I think that is a mistake. We must consider this, that one of the first tokens of national progress is to be determined when we ask what is the condition of the masses, and I think that condition is most reassuring. I live in an industrial town. I think one of the finest signs of the day is this, that the people in what we call the lower walks of life are better clothed, better housed, better taught, better fed—and that is a very important thing. I think a great deal of the ravages of the liquor traffic is caused by bad cooking due to slatternly domestic life. I think that we shall come to our coronation as a nation largely in proportion to the development and comfort and attractiveness and brightness among the poor. You may not have had your attention called to this fact before, but I think there is nothing more reassuring than the increase in the refinement of the homes of the poor. I am a Presbyterian, and Presbyterians have always been accused of being in favour of great plainness in living. We cultivate literature on a little oatmeal, and that is a fine thing; but, when it comes to high living and high thinking both together, the Scotchman can be about as resigned to both as any one I know. That is a characteristic of the Scotch, that they can cultivate some literature on a very little oatmeal. I think Presbyterians have erred in plainness in ecclesiastical life. My fathers taught that if you had been pretty uncomfortable all day Sunday it had been a truly pious day.

In proportion as man has moved away from the savage he has come to refinement, delicacy, and some measure of upholstery, of something that relieves the bareness of life. Our pioneer forefathers lived bare lives, but they were none the better for that; we are better for the development that has been made. When you consider the condition of the poor to-day, of the mechanic, the artisan, the labourer, I am confident that for variety of food and comfort in their homes, superiority of cooking, and intellectual surroundings and such provocations to a higher life, we have it a hundred-fold better than it was thirty or forty years ago. The thing I have against the civilization of the Old Land is this, that the emancipation of the poor has never come from where it ought to come, that is from above. It has never come from the classes; the masses have had to fight for it all themselves. Where men have station and noble family and endowment and high talent, especially where it flowers into genius, to my mind that is a gift of God in return for which they ought to consider themselves responsible for the condition of the poor. That is one thing, I think, that Britain can claim credit for above the millionairedom of the rest of the world, that their nobility accept responsibility for their tenantry.

Look at Canada and what do we see? Except for a few matters that are ornamental, the poor are about as well off as the rich. Fresh air, good cooking, a little music, accessibility to books, all these the poor have here in almost as great measure as the rich. Barring the ornamentation, the upholstery, and some measure of decoration that wealth gives, I think we can say, with a measure of confidence, that there is about as good living among the poor as there is among the rich. When one looks at the condition here of what we call the working classes, I think we have everything to be thankful for.

Now, let us consider the introduction of the elements that are swelling our industrial classes. In some quarters there is an objection to the introduction of foreigners, I mean Europeans and Orientals. One of the anomalies of our condition is that we talk about the working-man and about keeping him free from foreign rivalry; but we have men who have come to us from India, men who have borne medals on their breasts for service under the Imperial flag, and they have been turned away from our doors. These same men have afterwards been admitted to the United States and been admitted free. I think that is a blot on our Dominion. Personally, I think what this country needs is labour. We have hundreds and thousands of acres as yet untouched by the plough, and few conceive the necessity there is for ever-increasing supplies of labour. You say foreigners sell their labour cheap; that is not true. Labour is cheap in proportion as it is unskilled. I suppose my hand is cheap, but put behind it some skill and cunning, and it becomes less cheap. Labour is always sold for manual strength plus learning and skill. Just in proportion as these men become manually dexterous and familiar with the arts and trades, just in that proportion you may be sure the price of their labour will go up until the whole thing equalizes itself.

One of the fortunate things about the poor is that they are unsatisfied; that is a fine thing. What seems true at first is very seldom permanently true. One of the fine features of our poor in contradistinction to those of Germany. for example, is that they are unsatisfied, there is a fine ferment that always makes for convalescence. One of the fine features of our whole industrial life is this spirit of unrest, ever making toward promotion and evolution of their condition, always, we trust, subservient to sane counsel and wise leadership. I think we have no reason to be afraid of this. Always in history the problems that vex to-day please to-morrow.

That is the first token of national progress; and the second is this, the prosperity of the rich. Everybody is willing to laud this signal of national prosperity if the condition of the poor be improving, and he is not a true man who does not take to his own heart and into his own bosom some share at least of the great world-wide sorrow that rests upon the labouring and the toiling all over this terrestrial globe. But I think that one of the great signs of national progress is the acquisition of great wealth. Men lift their hands and say, "Alas, Alas, we are going to get into the hands of money." But I think it is a good thing we are having some men and corporations who are becoming very rich. I believe that the future will see fortunes made in Canada beyond all that we now conceive of. I think the men who we call rich now will later on take their fitting place as men who are but on the portals of the great temple of wealth that this country is to know.

I think we have a singular opportunity; I think Canada stands in a position of unique advantage. We have, as the world has never seen it before, a country that was born rich, I mean our western plains. Men are almost born rich out there. We have that heritage at our hand, and we have the rare spectacle of seeing the wealth of the west coming to meet the wealth of the east, just as the civilization of the west comes to meet the civilization of the east. I think that is going to give us a wonderful progress, the climax and outcome of which the most sanguine do not dream.

Some look at our great buildings and say there is so much peril in wealth. I do not think there is peril in wealth any more than in any other kind of power. Wealth is not the greatest kind of power. I like to put in a plea for the talking man. Sometimes they talk as if the man of words were not worth his keep. I should think there would be more reason to be afraid of a man like W. J. Bryan than of a man like Pierpont Morgan. One has more power than the other. Thirty years ago when the Republicans were beaten for the first time since the war, I think it was conceded that, despite all that money and combination and organization could do, there was one man who swung New York State, and that was Henry Ward Beecher, a talking man, a life long Republican, but changing then because he thought it wise to change. The same thing might be said of Lloyd George to-day, and of other men. So when you come to consider the classification of power, let it never for a moment be conceded that the rich man is the most powerful man. We had better appoint a committee to guard and curb and otherwise restrain the man of great demagogic gifts rather than the man who can count his wealth in millions. These two must both be restrained. It seems to me that it was meant from all eternity that some men should be richer than others. The trouble is that some men are unjustly rich, and I think we must accept that. Some men must be unjustly rich from the standard of their contributions to worthy causes. Some men are born richer than others, I mean in things higher than money. Some are born with handsome persons, some with "bodily presence weak, and speech contemptible." I think it is one of the greatest arguments against the contentions of the socialists that one man should be as rich as another, that the Divine Creator has made a difference. If I have any quarrel with Providence because one man has more money than another, surely I have a greater because another man has more intellectual activity than I have. Some men are born Aeolian harps, and some are born crowbars, and you cannot make a crowbar into an Aeolian harp. If there is disparity, it begins at the very beginning and at the hands of our great Creator. We ought to accept that to begin with, that some men must be richer than others.

But we can present another plea, I think. For the development of the nation we must have great wealth; it lies back of all progress in architecture, in science, in education, in domestic life itself. The man with much money provides labour for the poorer man; the home of the humble man depends on the prosperity of the rich man. You have only to look abroad to see the truth of what I have said. All we have in our national life above the mere materialistic has had its roots in money. Look at the West; I said that was a land born rich; what was the result? You know how long they toiled here in the early days and at last they achieved a University of Toronto and, after a while, one in Kingston, and then one in Montreal, and that is about the end of it. What do we see in the West? There is the immediate product of wealth,—a University in Winnipeg, a University in Saskatoon, a University in Edmonton, and a University in Vancouver, and all with such a scant population. This is a striking evidence of the truth of what I have said of the product that comes at once in the finer and more delicate side of life from what you may call the coarse, materialistic soil of mere money. In the United States take the names of McCormick, Rockefeller, Carnegie. The money may be made in steel, but it blossoms in literature. The same thing is true of museums and art palaces, as of Universities. Witness the case of Montreal, enriched by the great benefactions of two men who made their money in the most prosaic way, but who have spent it in the most artistic way. In your own city of Toronto what do we see? I was going along College Street, when I was struck with that building of wonderful length and breadth and depth, that great edifice sacred to the healing of the human body, as truly a cathedral as any in England or in Rome that ever lifted their domes to catch the benediction of the rising sun. Could we have had that unless there had been the accumulation of wealth in the hands of some men? In regard to Art, Science, Medical Research, witness these various commissions in Great Britain and in the United States. I think we have reason to be thankful that the tendency, on the whole, all over our country, is to a reverent use of wealth. I think that is increasing; we are in that perilous and delicate state when we are just learning how to use money. One of the trying things in the life of any country is getting the tools, the edged tools, into our hands.

To revert again to the lower classes; this is always to be remembered, that just in proportion as the scale goes up with the rich it ascends in a corresponding ratio with the poor. You will find unconsciously the poor imitate, until if the rich man has a victrola, some one a scale lower has a graphanola, and another a pianola; this man may have only an organ, and that an old-fashioned melodeon, and another a concertina or a jew's harp; some one has a canary bird, or at least a Singer sewing-machine (laughter) which as you will admit has a melodious name. It is true, I think, that in proportion as the scale goes up with the rich, there is, perhaps following it afar off, a corresponding rise on the part of the poor. It is one of the striking things in our Canadian homes. These two tokens go hand in hand and we should rejoice in the one as much as in the other. I shall not keep you longer except to say that such tokens as these should fill our hearts with a fine sanguineness, not with dolorous predictions of dolorous futures.

This Dominion of ours, nestling, as Dufferin said, at the feet of a mother, is majestically dreaming a dream and framing a destiny of which no one has yet an adequate conception. Separated from the old feudal grave clothes that are now hampering the Mother Land, casting wide open the golden door of privilege and advantage to the son of a peasant or the son of a prince, and waiting for the development, of the wealth of mine and lake and field and forest, I feel that these twain—our rich and our poor—working hand in hand, and heart in heart, and hope in hope, will upbuild this nation in that righteousness which alone exalteth it, in that peace and comfort, which is a perpetual joy and blessing. (Applause)

FRATERNITY AND PATRIOTISM

An Address by the HONOURABLE W. E. ANDREWS, Auditor for the United States Treasury, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 27, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I remember very distinctly a delightful visit that I had in Newport, Vermont, on the 4th of July, 1898, my first visit to that portion of Vermont. When I arose in the morning and looked out upon the scene I saw that the principal entertainment was to be carried on near the window of my hotel. About 8 o'clock, I saw the boat coming down the lake from the Canadian side crowded with passengers to the rail. Wagons from both sides of the line poured into the city for hours. I never saw so large a crowd spend a celebration day in more cordial spirits than we had that 4th of July on the border of the two countries. (Hear, hear) In the evening, just as it was growing dark, people in their carriages and wagons crowded the streets wherever they could secure a good view of a canvas that was stretched on the end of a large building on one of the principal streets of the city. They watched with anxiety for the beginning of the stereopticon exhibition. What was the first picture thrown upon the canvas? A life-size bust of that splendid patriot and wise statesman, William McKinley, our martyred President. The people cheered to the echo and you could not discover the lines of nationality. (Hear, hear) They watched for the second picture. What was it? A life-size bust of Queen Victoria. God bless her memory! (Applause) Without any distinction as to nationality that audience from both sides of the line cheered again and again to the echo. I said to myself then, as I say every time I think of it, what an uplift for the people of the two great nations when characters like those of President McKinley and Queen Victoria guide the thoughts and the aspirations not only of men and women in mature years but especially the young men and women that have the long race yet to run. Friends, we cannot over-estimate the importance of such influences. While the nation rests upon fundamental principles of justice and equity, we trust in all instances, yet the multitudes look for the reflection of those principles in the characters of the men and women that lead the way. Measure that in business, measure it in government, and you have the important responsibility laid upon the conscience of every person who wields a ballot in the determination of the great policies of government and the selection of those who are to lead the way. But let me direct your attention to another scene which is alike interesting to me and which will help to suggest the body of the sentiment upon which I will dwell for a few moments at this time.

Frequently I go to the western steps of the Capitol building in Washington and watch the beauty of the scene as the sun descends the western sky on a cloudless day. The eyes turn towards the east and I behold the golden dome of the Congressional Library shining like an unfading torch of intellectual light. I turn a little further and I behold the outlines of the Capitol building bounded on the south and north by the Hall of Representatives and the Senate Chamber, sometimes in our country facetiously called the Cave of the Winds. (Laughter) In the midst of the building is situated our supreme judicial tribunal. As the eyes pass around the circle of vision to the north, the west, and the south, historic scenes are recalled with profound interest. The great departments of government appear clustering about the White House as the Executive centre of the American Republic. On such occasions my mind runs back hastily through history to the builders, and I ask this question: "What were the purposes? What were the motives of the great architects and builders of nations?" When I see in history the struggles of the race under this form of government and under that, and I see the shifting of the scenes, and the conflict of ideas, I ask another question: "What was the chief corner-stone of survey?"

Changing the figure a little, I again ask: "How much of selfish ambition was there in the hearts of the architects and the builders? On the other hand again, how much of the high purposes of humanity actuated their lives?" As I reviewed history, I saw that various corner-stones of survey had been taken, various plans appeared, the lines crossed and recrossed, resulting in the conflict of ideas and the conflict of arms. Then I recalled the Battle of the Pyramids, I recalled the Battle of the Nations on the field of Austerlitz. In the midst of those great contests, I see the firm qualities and calm judgment of the Iron Duke of Wellington rising to victory on the field of Waterloo. (Applause) Thus, as I review one by one, the great struggles on immortal fields, I realize that the earth has trembled many times beneath the tread of contending armies, and that, out of those conflicts, have come the governments of the present day. What do they possess? Take the history of the British Empire. Place its present in contrast with its history of centuries ago. How much of transformation has taken place in the forms of government, the methods of administration, and the expression of the voice of the people. Take it in my own country within the comparatively brief period that the American Republic has lived among the nations of the earth. But after recasting this wide field of conflict and study, I see this: not until the architects and builders of nations found the true corner-stone from which to make that survey, the true foundation upon which to build, did civilization begin to move aright and keep peace with accelerated motion. But what was it? The individual human soul with its God-given rights to liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the open field to make out of itself all that God had designed it to be. (Applause) Right there I find the thought of the great men and women of later years, centreing with men like Gladstone, McKinley, and others, standing out in the history of the world to recognize the God-given rights of the individual. Fraternity brought that, and that is the spirit and that is the doctrine underlying the genuine progress of modern times in the unfolding of the privileges of the present day for the people of the nations of the world. (Applause)

As each man has recognized this fact in relation to his neighbour and his neighbour in relation to him, the world has been moving in the right direction. The rigid forms of government of the early days of the British Empire have gone through a remarkable transformation, until to-day the people speak with a potency never before known in British history. The people of the United States, the people of Canada, yes, the people of the world, are coming to claim possession of their God-given rights to liberty.

At this point I see the brilliant reflection of those sublime sentiments, Fraternity and Patriotism. Fraternity as broad as the race and as genuine as the gold standard; Patriotism unbounded, yes, "free and unlimited," without regard to "ratio," or the "consent of any other nation on earth."

The electric current seeks to encircle the earth and its pulsations are felt at the portals of victory. Likewise the spirit of genuine fraternity encircles the world, and its pæans of victory are heard on land and sea, as it proclaims to all nations the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

As the electric current lights up the highways of commerce and travel, so has patriotism illuminated the pathway of an advancing civilization and thrown its searchlights upon the great problems of the present and future.

The rich fruitage of the principles of fraternity and patriotism may be gleaned from the pages of sacred and secular history.

Fraternity extends a helping hand to our friends and neighbours about us. It breathes a spirit of mutual helpfulness into international affairs. It recognizes the rights of our fellow-men everywhere. Yes, "man to man shall brother be, 'round the world, for a' that." It has destroyed in large measure the practices of tyranny and intolerance so prevalent during the ancient and mediæval periods of human history. Through centuries it has stimulated honourable inquiry as to the native birthright of the human soul, the true principles of government, the methods of administering justice and equity, not only within national boundaries, but among the nations of the world. In its gradual evolution, it has enforced the recognition of our neighbour as our equal "endowed with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Thus in modern times fraternity has become one of the potent factors, not only in religion, but in education and government also.

Look back into ancient history. Take mediæval history, if you please. Take the history of the British Empire itself, and see how under these refining influences its own people, from the days of the Magna Charta down to the present hour, have been transforming conditions and bringing into life the recognition of the individual as a potent factor in government. (Applause) Upon what does it rest? Here it is: each man came to know, not all of them, but many of them, enough of them to create a moving force however,—yes, to recognize the fact that their neighbours were their brothers. Whenever a man recognizes his neighbour as his brother and the stranger recognizes the neighbour as a brother, then there is reciprocity that can live and ought to live, the recognition of individual rights. This spirit of fraternity makes them equal. The great doctrine of political equality is a product, an original outgrowth of the doctrine of fraternity. Man to man the wide world o'er shall brother be and a' that. Yes, in that we can practise reciprocity without voting at the polls every day of the year.

Down in my country I frequently met people not long ago who said: "What do you suppose our Canadian brothers meant by rejecting that reciprocity proposition?" "Well," I said, "Judging from the majority vote it seems as though they had a clear recognition of the difference between a Canadian Clyde and an American Donkey, and they did not propose to make a treaty of that kind." (Laughter) Well, whether that was true or not, we do come to these questions, and we can see the mirthful side, and apply the story. To me it is one of the profound gratifications that I meet in the course of my readings, one of the profound gratifications that I have enjoyed to-day as I have mingled with some of your people here in Toronto, that the spirit of fraternity and good-will covets success for neighbours regardless of nationality or border lines. We come together as English-speaking people, and under God's leadership we move forward for the conquest of the world.

Whenever we find these principles in operation, we recognize the spirit of mutual helpfulness in international affairs. With fraternity as genuine as the gold standard and patriotism unbounded, yes, free, unlimited, without regard to ratio, national and international interests will become progressively conservative and conservatively progressive.

Actuated by such influences men and women of all nations will naturally abandon military strife and fields of carnage and seek the paths of universal peace. That spirit led the way to the drafting of an Arbitration Treaty by the United States, Great Britain, and France, in the interests of the world-wide peace. It also prompted Japan to consent to a modification of her Treaty with Great Britain, in order that the latter might join France and the United States without question in the cause of arbitration. If those efforts had been successful great reductions could have been made in the enormous expenditures now required for military and naval establishments. Thus the economist could have gone forth under the banners of fraternity and patriotism in the cause of universal peace. What a grand mission! What a sublime opportunity! Who could refuse his support to such a cause?

My friends, I could not describe to you the disappointment when I read in a Washington paper, that the American Senate had defeated by one vote the Arbitration Treaty submitted by President Taft to the Senate for ratification. Think of it, my friends! What an opportunity was lost! The British Empire, the Republics of France and the United States had joined hands, in the cause of world-wide peace, and Japan had consented to a modification of her Treaty with the British Empire in order that the Treaty obligations of that country might not be brought into question. With those national forces united in a common cause, hand in hand helping for world-wide peace, what might we not reasonably hope to accomplish? (Hear, hear, and applause) But in my country factional politics delayed it; I hope it did not permanently defeat it.

When the English-speaking people of the world had joined hands for a world-wide conquest of peace, how could any man dare stand in the way? (Hear, hear, applause) But one Senator seemed to close his eyes and sear his conscience against the highest welfare of humanity and deliberately force defeat in one of the greatest issues of modern times. Is it possible that he, as a youth, had been led by his dictator daily to the altar of the gods and required to swear eternal loyalty to the military spirit of the Caesars? May the one true and living God burn into his soul the deep consciousness of his sin against humanity, and may his dictator receive a double portion of divine retribution!

If the leaders and the people of those great nations will demand a renewal of the negotiations and the triumph of that undertaking, they will be discharging one of the highest duties that can be performed for humanity. Peace and good-will to men on earth around the world! Think of that little band, the Master and his apostles, thirteen only. Think of the story to-day; nearly five hundred million Christian communicants pledging loyalty and devotion to the great doctrine of fraternity around the world. If they speak, will they not be heard? It is the doctrine of fraternity leading on in government that will create a fountain of patriotism that will flow onward through all the years of national life.

I give you one more illustration, reflecting the sentiments Fraternity and Patriotism. On the 22nd of February, 1909, our battle fleet returned from its journey around the world with a message of peace. Near Old Point Comfort, Virginia, we watched the ships, sixteen in number, as they passed in review before the President of the United States, through the Capes, into Hampton Roads, where they dropped into double column.

The programme of the afternoon passed hastily. The night came on. Rain was falling and not a star could be seen in the sky. We were just about to begin our journey back to the national Capital. As if to say good-night, we looked out upon those fighting engines of war, representing $130,000,000 of property afloat. Just then to our delight and surprise a band of electric light flashed forth from the bow of each ship to the top of the first mast, then to the second, then diagonally to the stern of the ship. Then from each mast on every ship. Then from every crossbeam on every mast, presenting thirty-two images of the cross in electric light on those fighting engines of war. Strange paradox! A message of peace around the world! Yes, and so it was. That cross in electric light suggested the cross of Calvary yonder and the words of its obedient sacrifice: "I am the Light of the World, I will lift men up to me. Peace, peace on earth, good-will to men."

I bring you peace, not a sword. The United States of America, the British Empire, and the Republic of France are united in purpose to carry out the high mission of our Elder Brother, for fraternity around the world, with peace and good-will.

TURKEY

An Address by MR. TAUFIK MAHARRIJ before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 10, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I thank you all indeed for your kind sympathy in inviting me to address you. I want to tell you in a few words the difference between your country and ours. That difference is this: In your country the Christians eat turkey, in our country the Turks eat the Christians. (Laughter) I know Turkey because I was born there. By birth I am a Turk, by education I am an American, as I have studied in the American Mission Schools before I came to finish my education at Columbia University.

And now, in order that you may follow me intelligently, I desire to explain in a few words just exactly what the Balkan States are and where they are situated. These little Balkan States which are now making war upon Turkey are situated in the Balkan Peninsula between the Danube on the north and the Ægean Sea on the south. The land of the Balkan Peninsula is fertile, the climate is perfect, the country is the most beautiful on God's green earth. Yet the nations are sad and are filled with tears and have been so for more than 600 years; the Greeks in the south, Montenegro in the west, the Servians in the north-west, and Bulgaria in the east. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Turks came from the Central part of Asia and swept into Europe, driving before them every race and every nation until they conquered the whole south-east and eastern part of Europe and ruled it for the past six centuries. The Turks once ruled over the land which now we call Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro.

Now, Turkey is not so bad as the average person thinks. The Turks have been separated from the whole civilized world for the last 600 years. There were no schools, no colleges, no education of any worth, and this kept the lower classes of the Turks behind the other civilized nations of Europe. And more than that, the policy of the European powers was to keep Turkey exactly where it is. They never gave the Turk a chance to grow and nearly crushed him to death. I know you are all British here and I am sure you are proud of it. I am a Turk and I want to bring before you some facts which you will never blame me for. I want to say that this was the policy of the European powers and especially England, since it is of great importance to her to have a weak nation on the Mediterranean shore. First, because the European powers or England realized that, if Turkey was a strong power standing on the Mediterranean shore, it meant death to European commerce in the Orient. And, on the other hand, if Turkey was divided Constantinople would go to Russia and Russia with Constantinople in her hand will go ahead, build a magnificent fleet, make the Mediterranean a Russian lake and threaten Egypt, Cyprus, the Suez Canal, Persia, the Persian Gulf and, above all, India. And because of those two reasons the English statesmen—and I praise them for that, because that is the best thing for the British policy—have been trying to keep the Turk exactly where he is. Disraeli and other statesmen would never permit Turkey to be divided up, and if it had not been for England, Turkey would have been divided long ago. I have to thank you and say that we owe our existence nowadays to the British Empire and to the British statesmen.

Now, let me speak of the present war. This war is one of the most terrible wars that the Turks have ever faced, and it is the first war, for centuries, in which the Mohammedans have been defeated by the Christians. Did you ever think of that? For 600 years the Mohammedans have never had a defeat like this defeat by a Christian nation. In the Crimean war they were defeated for a time by Russia; then all the other European powers came and helped Turkey to defeat Russia. I am glad, because this war will open the eyes of the Turks and show them that for 550 years they have been on the wrong track. This war will show the Turks that though they once ruled this land yet because of their ignorance and fanatical ideas they have lost all this beautiful land in Europe. Now, that the time has come when they will have to go back to Asia, they are beginning to realize that. You have seen how the Turks tried to keep Adrianople because Adrianople was the first capital for the Turks before they took Constantinople; and they were unable to take Constantinople until they captured Adrianople. They realize nowadays that Adrianople is the first step towards Constantinople, and that when Adrianople is taken, Constantinople every moment is in great danger. And that is a very serious position for the Turks nowadays.

Now, let me tell you the causes of this war. There are hundreds of causes for this war but I will mention, as my time is short, four. The first cause of this war is the disregard of the Treaty of Berlin by the European powers. For 600 years those Christians in the Balkan States have been suffering under the Turkish rule. Their wives and daughters have been attacked, their villages destroyed every now and then, and their children taken as slaves. And they have been appealing to Christian Europe to save them and Europe, because of its selfish ambitions, could not settle their problem. At last the conditions reached so very bad a degree that they called for the interference of the European powers, and all the European powers came into a conference that was held in the City of Berlin in the year 1876. The result of the conference was the Treaty which is known as the Treaty of Berlin. In that Treaty the European powers agreed to keep and maintain the individual existence of all the Balkan States under the protection of Turkey. But that Treaty was not kept at all. A few years ago Austria, with the consent of Germany, tore up the Treaty of Berlin by annexing two of those Balkan States, namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were six states in number but because of that seizure you hear nowadays of only four states. And when the other little four Balkan States saw that that Treaty which guaranteed their individual existence was not going to be regarded any more, they became frightened and thought that Russia might do to-morrow what Austria had done or that Austria might help herself at another time to more of their territory. They were under the protection of Turkey; but poor Turkey, because of its ignorance, was persecuting them instead of protecting them. The only thing then to be done was to unite, and so these little powers united together and started preparing for this war. They intended to wait until the spring of 1914, but Italy having declared war upon Turkey, it gave them their chance to declare their own war.

The second cause of this war is the promises that Turkey was giving but never redeeming. For six centuries the policy of the Turkish government was to give its Christian subjects all kinds of promises but never to redeem any of them. Suppose one of those promises which the government gave to the Christians is violated by a Mohammedan. Then the Christian has to carry his case to a Mohammedan court where the Judge is a Turk and where a Christian cannot be justified. So those promises were absolutely of no value.

The third cause of this war is the difference in religion. I do not mean to say that this war is a religious war. Not at all! But I mean to say that religion is playing a very important part in this war. This war differs from all kinds of wars in modern history; it is not a nation against another nation; it is not one country against another country. It is one class of people under a government trying to fight that government and to get rid of it. And that which makes it worse is that these people are Christians while the government itself is a Mohammedan government. If it were not for this difference in religion, these people in the Balkan States would never fight Turkey and would never ask for their liberty, even if they were suffering under Turkish rule. Because, believe me, there are millions and millions of Mohammedans in the central parts of Asia who are suffering ten times as much as the people in the Balkan States. They never complain, simply because they prefer to suffer under Mohammedan rule. It is from this point of view that religion enters into this war. Go to the Bulgarian government or to the Turkish Cabinet and ask them, and they will tell you that this war is a political, economic war. But go to the people who are in war against each other; go to the thousands of the Bulgarian army and ask them about this war and you will find that the Bulgarian is fighting with such a religious zeal not the Turk as a Turk, but the Turk as a Mohammedan who has persecuted him and massacred his people for the last six centuries; or go to the other side and ask the poor Turks about this war and they will tell you the same. You will find that they are fighting, in the name of their religion and their prophet, the Bulgarian not as a Bulgarian but as a Christian.

My brethren, I am not going into details about the Bulgarian, but I want to tell you a few words about the Turkish army. It would be difficult for you to believe that 80 per cent. of the Turkish army does not know with whom they are fighting; does not know what they are fighting for. They were forced by arms to leave their farms and villages and houses and wives and children and go and fight. When they asked with whom they were to fight they were told: "You are to fight the enemies of your religion, you are to fight the unbelievers." And so these people went to fight without having any true idea as to what the war is about. A letter I received gave me a clear idea that thousands of these people in Asia and other places never heard about the Turkish defeats at all. They do hear about the Turkish victories, and many of them are under a strong impression that Turkey has been victorious in this war and that the people in the Balkan States have been defeated. These poor soldiers, all of them, or at least 80 per cent. of them, are anxious to leave the battle-field and go back to their wives and to their children and farms which have been neglected since they left.

I will mention the fourth cause of this war. It is education. Turkey is unprogressive, while those people in the Balkan States are starting to be progressive. What is the real cause of that? It is education. When the American missions were sent in from the United States, they went to Turkey and opened schools in every town and in every village in the Turkish Empire. To begin with, the Turks refused to send their young men and young women to these schools. But these people in the Balkan States, who were Christians by name only, who do not know anything about Christianity except something which the priests used to teach them, these people started sending their young men and women to these schools. These young men went to these schools and studied to become men of character and principle and ideals. After studying Christianity from its practical side rather than from its theoretical side, after understanding what the world is and what religion is and what civilization is, these young men went back to their countries, to Belgrade, Sophia, and other cities and taught their own people equality, liberty, fraternity, brotherhood, and Christianity. (Applause)

And this is one of the real and strongest causes of this war. It was religious education that was undermining all the superstitions of these people and preparing them to be a nation; for the minute these people became educated, they started to realize that a nation cannot live as a slave to the other nations in the twentieth century. They started preparing to fight for their liberty. Although I am a Turkish citizen, I am in great sympathy with these people simply because that I believe they are fighting for their liberty, and because I believe that a nation that fights for its liberty is a nation that is worthy of it. (Applause)

Before I leave this topic I want to mention a few causes why the Turkish army was defeated. I want to mention to you that I give a lecture illustrated with 150 beautiful coloured slides, but without my pictures I am like a soldier without his sword; I have time, however, to say something as to why the army was defeated. There are many causes and I am going to mention some.

First, western civilization. In the past the Turkish soldier used to believe in fate. He used to go to the battle-field and say: "Here, if it is written for me to die this day there is no cause on earth or heaven why I should not die. If it is not written for me to die I will not die even if I go and fight amongst the enemy." And so they used to go forward and rush and fight like men without caring whether they died or lived. That is in the past. Now, western civilization has come and changed the ideas of these people and the Turkish soldier is starting to use his common sense. He now says, "If I go forward I will be killed." (Laughter)

The second cause of this defeat is the new method of drilling the Turkish army. These people never had any method of drilling at all. Every man used to fight in a natural way, as simply as it can be. But the Turkish government became afraid of Russia. Russia was coming down from the north and Turkey knows the great army of Russia. She looked to Europe, and she found the Germans to be the best teachers, and so she called a German General to drill her army. And now, let us see what was the result of that with these poor Turks. The result was this. The thousands of poor ignorant men in the army were unable to understand the German methods and German tactics, and they forgot their old way of fighting and so were defeated.

Of course there are other causes. The country was coming out of a war with Italy; a section of the country was not prepared for war at all; and there was a serious division in the Turkish Cabinet amongst the Turks themselves. There are two parties in the Turkish Empire; one is called the Liberal Party and the other the Young Turks. These Young Turks are young men educated specially in Germany and France. You ask me why these Young Turks are educated in Germany. I will give you the reason. If you had been in Turkey ten years ago, everything was English. If you wanted to buy a handkerchief or collar or shoe or any article in the streets of Constantinople or any other place, it was English; it came from English factories. Nowadays, to your great surprise, anything you want to buy is German; it comes from German factories. On everything you will find on the back a memorandum stating, "Made in Germany." Why is this? While the Turks were being drilled by Germans, there was not a chance for any one to be promoted and take high office unless he knew German. This forced the young Turks to go into German schools and study in German military schools, and so it came about that all of them know German. This has opened the whole of Turkey for Germany, and for German merchants, etc. The great idea of the Emperor of Germany, his dream of the future is this: The German Emperor has seen for years thousands and tens of thousands of German people going to the United States and becoming Americans, to Canada and becoming Canadians, and he wants a place where the Germans can go and remain Germans loyal to the Mother country. His ideal was Asia Minor—a beautiful and rich land which will yields three crops a year. He demanded the concession of constructing a railroad from Alexandria on the Mediterranean shore through the central parts of Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf. Of course England and France and Russia did their best to prevent that concession being given to the Germans but they did not succeed. The Germans are building this railroad, and what does it mean in the future? Look at the policy of the Germans. Their policy is to weaken the Turk financially, because that will give them further influence in Mesopotamia in Asia Minor, where thousands of Germans are emigrating in great numbers every day. Anybody who wants to be employed there on the railway or to get a high salary must know German. I know many young Turks who went to Germany one year specially to study German and to get nice offices on this railroad. It is a very interesting subject if I had time to tell you about it.

I was speaking about the parties, the Young Turks and the Liberals. The Liberals, all of them, are old men. The youngest one among them is older than the oldest one among you. These people are from the time when Turkey was in the control of Disraeli, when Turkey was under the control of British statesmen. They are still loyal to England. But the Young Turks—I was one of the Party, a member of the Committee—have a thousand members, and all of them are young men like myself, and they are all of them Germans in spirit because all of them are German by education. They like the German methods, etc., and they are under the control of the Germans because every one has a friend in the German Cabinet or German army. Indeed, with the rise and fall of those two parties, England and Germany rule supreme in the heart and the capital of the Sultan. The Young Turks have good intentions; every one of them wants to do good by his country. But the trouble is that they went to France and studied theoretical things; they studied the philosophy of Rousseau and Robespierre and their minds are filled with beautiful theories. They controlled the government but they were unable to put these theories into practice. They want to do well, but they don't know how and they don't want to leave any other body to do it. (Laughter)

I want to mention that the whole trouble in this thing are these priests. These priests want the people to follow them blindly. They want to rule the people despotically, and they understand that, if the people are educated and enlightened, they cannot rule them. They cannot keep the people down except by standing between them and the Christians, because the Christians through the efforts of the Missions have become enlightened. The Mohammedans are not. Last autumn when thousands were suffering every day from cholera, smallpox, etc., the priests went to their Mosque and said to the people: "All these troubles your prophets sent to you because you permitted the unbeliever or Christians to live among you." Then they start these massacres, and the poor people, believe me, do not know what they are doing at all, but if they were educated and understood what they were doing, they would never do it. If you hear about massacres up there, it is the result of ignorance and narrow-mindedness only. Indeed if it was not for the presence of European battleships in the Golden Horn, not a Christian would remain alive. That is a fact. There is this sentence in the Mohammedan: "The true believer; you meet the unbeliever, kill him." You come to the common Mohammedan and ask him who is the unbeliever and he will tell you it is the Christian. Lord Cromer in his book on *Modern Egypt* said, while he was discussing this same sentence, "I am sure the Prophet

Mohammed, when he wrote this sentence, did not mean by the unbeliever the Christians; he meant the heathen who were still living around the borders of the desert at that time." The priests of the present when they came to interpret the Holy Book,—it is written in a most difficult language—when they came to interpret this sentence looked around but did not find the heathen, nothing except the Christians. The Young Mohammedan is under the strongest impression that the Christian is a heathen man, that he does not believe in God. They know only what their fathers and parents have told them, and their parents are ignorant.

Now, as to the harem. I speak about the low class of people who are strictly Mohammedan, and I will give you their idea. The Mohammedan religion permits every man to have as many wives as he can afford to keep. Their religion teaches them, that if they can afford to keep but one wife, to take but one; if they can afford to keep more, well go and do it. (Laughter) And the cost of living is so cheap that every man can afford to keep at least half a dozen of them. The ex-Sultan of Turkey used to have one thousand wives; I am saying that, relying on the statement which is in the Encyclopædia Britannica. That is the best authority we can find, and if you open at the word "harem" you will find the ex-Sultan used to have more than a thousand wives. I will not go into details, but will speak now about the social life in Turkey.

The Mohammedan social life is corrupt indeed, and we cannot blame them much for it. First of all, the Mohammedan young man who wants to get married is not permitted to see the face of his would-be wife. He must marry her on the recommendation of his mother or sister or somebody who saw her. And what is the result? The man will go and marry that woman for better or worse without seeing her, without studying her character, absolutely without seeing her. And then if that girl, after he marries her, does not suit, well it does not matter much, he will go and get another one. And then he will go on taking one after another until the right one comes. (Laughter) And when they get so many wives, it is a very bad thing because the family is separated. In Turkey among the Mohammedans there is not what we call the family life. The sultans, who have a number of wives, can afford them, and they give every wife an apartment, and these wives have everything money can buy, and their clothes come from Paris and Berlin. But leave these rich individuals and come to the poor class; they are so ignorant that they go and marry many wives. The man may have a house of six rooms yet go and marry six and seven wives; then he has to give every wife a room in that house. The wives quarrel and fight and there is no real family life.

I have to thank you and I don't know how, so I will keep silent, and you will know what my silence means.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE IMPERIAL PROBLEM

An Address by PROFESSOR KYLIE, Associate Professor of History in the University of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 24, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I really did not know until I came here to-day that I was to be a sort of Imperial Friedmann to guard you against all possible diseases, Anti-Imperial or Non-Imperial diseases, or infections. That is a very large order, and I shall in the course of what I have to say be able merely to refer indirectly to some friends of mine who have spoken in this Club on this subject. However, possibly by means of indirect references I may be able to meet some of their arguments.

Is there an Imperial Problem at all? We are very frequently told that those who are discussing an Imperial Problem are busy-bodies, not to say conspirators, who are always raising trouble when really there should not be any trouble. The Empire has gone on very well and is still going on very well. Is it not much, these people say, as though you approached a passer-by and said to him, "From the very good colour of your face, your very ample figure, I should really conclude that your constitution were undermined." Well, there is something of course in that objection, but any of us would be perfectly within his rights in going to a friend and saying, "We congratulate you on your very good health and appearance, and we hope in a friendly way that you will take all precautions to ensure the maintenance, the continuance of your good health." That is all we are doing in this case.

It is also objected at times that the British race has always muddled through with these things and that all will come right in the end if we only wait. This is a false position. I believe that in all periods of British History there have been groups of people making plans, preparing to meet changes in conditions. When these changes have come about, the plans have been ready and everything has gone so smoothly that people say, "What a miracle; no one ever thought of this before." I think that this view is the correct reading of British History. I think that plans have been so prepared, and have fitted in so smoothly that people have not seen the degree of careful thought which has gone before. In any case, as long as the British Empire lasts, as long as Canada lasts, for that matter, we shall have an Imperial Problem or a Canadian Problem. So, there is no reason why we should not consider it.

The present Imperial Problem takes the form of a defence problem, that is, in outward appearance. And I think I am safe in saying that most Canadians are to-day ready to meet that defence problem by putting ships on the sea. I have too much respect for politicians of both parties to think that they could say so much without saying that much, and I think that behind all this discussion the fact is pretty clear, that the people are ready to meet part, at least, of this defence problem by putting ships on the sea. Now, this is a considerable change. There has been a considerable growth of sentiment in Canada within the last two or three years on this subject. The growth has been due, partly at least, to our persistent little friend Mr. Tight-Money, who has been straining at every man's pocket for several months past. There is no doubt that this gentleman has done more than anything else to show Canadians that they are part of the world. They are interested even in what they might have considered before the rather petty quarrels of small European states. We are all in this aggregation of world-interests; in fact Canada has owed its financial existence in a large measure during these last few months to the skill of foreign diplomats, particularly to Sir Edward Grey, who has kept these racial feuds under. I do not think there is anything that has done more to bring Canadian people generally into touch with the financial and political world than this persistent tight money.

But there have been other things at work; the Balkan War, the Mexican Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, all show us that the age of peace, the millennium, has not yet come, that there are a great many belligerents about. We also feel more clearly than we did that Canadians have interests abroad. Perhaps in these very states we may have our own citizens. They must be looked after. The position of the Quebec Nationalists is that they are quite willing to cover Nova Scotia with armour-plate and to fill the St. Lawrence with mines, but they have never shown us what possible use those defences could be to protect the property or the life of a Canadian, say, in Mexico. So, too, the persistence of the Oriental Problem, on the western coast, has lately been brought to the minds of Canadians by this affair in the United States. It is not that we want war with Japan or any of these Eastern peoples. We must go to them and say, "We like you very much. You are a very pleasant people, but you do not mix easily with us; we shall have to ask you to restrict your emigration." Now, they will restrict their emigration, they will accept our restrictions if we are strong enough to enforce them. It is not probable that there will be any war, not at all; a great many of these controversies, as has been pointed out, do not cause war or do not result in war. A balance of forces is maintained which prevents war.

For these and other reasons the fact has been borne in on Canadians, more than was possible in the past, that if a nation in the modern world does not defend itself it must be defended by the balance of power—a very good way this second, and very pleasant for the nation—the balance of power being kept up by the great nations among themselves.

These general considerations, and I cannot go into them at greater length, have been enough to persuade the great body of Canadians that something must be done for defence.

Unfortunately, there seems to be some disagreement as to what the ships should be and where they should be and all the rest of it. I think that underneath that disagreement—and here I come to my real subject—there is a disagreement about policy or control. I do not think that people would—in spite of the tendency of some people to argue and dispute—I do not think that people would dispute so long or so bitterly, if there were not at bottom some difference between their ideas as to control and policy. It becomes evident that when you have ships you must have some control over them, and you must have some policy for them. It is not the primary purpose of ships to run aground or even to be laid up in dock-yards. There must be some brain behind them, as is now understood in Australia. Those who have gone on a short way into the subject have realized that ultimately you must have a policy for your ships. And on this question there has developed a real difference of opinion. I think it is still there. It has been said, for example, that our policy, our foreign policy—for that is what it amounts to—must be controlled in the last analysis by the Dominion Parliament, that the foreign policy of Australia must be controlled by the Australian Parliament, and that there will never be and can never be over these several parliaments a larger or central body, that the Empire will be, as is said, a galaxy of nations. The school holding this opinion is generally called the Co-operation School.

Over against this school is perhaps the school of the Federationists, who say that over these Dominion Parliaments there must ultimately be some common body or common force. This common body will of course shape the policy of the whole. The division between these schools underlies all this discussion. I do not say that opinion as regards the navy falls into these two groups, as many Federationists may support for a time the Canadian Navy. But in this discussion there is at bottom this difference between Co-operationists, and Federationists who are sometimes called Centralists. This is simple enough, but unfortunately for our purpose another circumstance makes the subject much more complex. These two groups are again divided. The Co-operationists include a group which we must call Nationalist Co-operationists, people who are willing to co-operate with the British Nation as long as it suits them. I think it is fair to say that Mr. Ewart and Mr. Bourassa belong to that school, and perhaps Mr. Walsh who has written and circulated the "Moccasin Prints." The other members of this school are Co-operationists who think that co-operation is the only means of carrying on the British Empire and that every other creed is dangerous. I should include Dr. Macdonald of *The Globe* among this number.

The Federationists again are divided into two sections. It is hard to find names for them. The first are cautious, slow-going Federationists, people who say, "Of course, in the long run you must have some kind of federation, but you must approach it very slowly." I venture myself to put Sir Wilfrid Laurier in that category, largely as a result of his two speeches on the Naval Bill, in both of which he was careful to say that federation was a magnificent idea but could not be carried out until Canada had a larger population. I sometimes fear that in his case "Hope deferred maketh the heart"—glad, not "sick." Still, in spite of that, he is, I think, at heart quite widely different from many of his followers, one of the slow-going, cautious Federationists, of whom there are a great many.

Lastly we come to the other division of Federationists. They are hard to name, but I venture to call them,—though I admit the roughness of the name—the "Now-or-never Federationists" or the "Ready-to-wear Federationists," people who feel very strongly that the Empire can only be kept together by a common government, and who say, "Here is the Common Government now ready, let us enter it and keep it going from this time on." And there are a great many of these probably in this company.

These are the divisions, as I see them at present, of the Imperial Problem. I cannot analyse them any further. The broad division is that division between those who say that there must never be a power above the Dominion Parliaments, and those who say, on the other hand, there must, whether in the long run or now, be a power above the Dominion Parliaments for common purposes. That is the rough division. I do not think that at this moment, certainly not in the time at our disposal, we can discuss the merits of these two classes. I like Co-operation; many of us do. It would be delightful to have all freedom and all authority together. But the difficulty about Co-operation is the obvious one, that it may not work. How are you going to carry on five separate independent states and all these dependencies, and where is the money going to come from? Is it going to be there when it is wanted? What is the position of the dependencies to be? This is all very difficult, and I do not think that those who talk about the galaxy of nations understand the difficulties.

The strongest argument against the Co-operationist school was made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier when in the first speech on the Naval Bill he said that co-operation on such a subject as foreign policy—I am not using his exact words, but I think this is his meaning—would not be possible, that Sir Edward Grey who had to decide from hour to hour, from moment to moment, upon the policy of the Empire, could not be expected, could not be asked to consult New Zealand, and Canada, and Australia beforehand. You must have some responsible body or some responsible statesman to take charge. That is my opinion, but I do not think we are called upon to settle the question to-day, but we are called upon to consider it.

It will bring us to the larger problem underneath all this discussion about defence, the real Imperial problem at the moment. Probably some of you have thought of it, and have made up your minds. We have to ascertain if possible whether we have any interests throughout the Empire which are sufficient in quantity and in importance to make it worth while to keep the Empire together. I believe that if we persuade ourselves of that, if we do persuade ourselves of that,—and I am not quarrelling with anybody who cannot,—if we persuade ourselves that there are common interests greater than the separate interests, then these constitutional difficulties will adjust themselves. If there are common interests, they will probably end in a common government. It is hard to say that at present. It may be hard to convince

Canadians of that at present. Still I think we can satisfy ourselves as to whether there are common interests in the Empire greater than the interests which might keep us apart. There is, for example, in a great country like the United States at times a divergency of interest between East and West; possibly the same may be so in Canada. My only contention in regard to the United States and Canada is that the common interests are greater than the separate interests, and that is true of any state that holds together. That is all we have to decide really, at bottom, about the British Empire—are the common interests greater than any separate interests which exist at present, or any that are likely to arise? We cannot face that problem frankly—and I think it is a thing for Canadians to settle for themselves—we shall not be able to settle that unless we clear the ground; (and here I come perhaps more to my task of inoculation) unless we clear the ground of a few arguments which are familiar enough, but which have done quite a good deal to obstruct the subject.

These arguments fall, I think, into two divisions. I am trying to make my divisions very obvious, because the subject is complex. You have frequently heard it said that Great Britain has always betrayed the interests of Canada, and that she is not considering them now particularly. This was a main point in Mr. Bourassa's speech. She had framed her foreign policy with regard to Great Britain, not with regard to Canada. Well, of course, that argument reflects a kind of temper. Some one has noticed that the next best thing to having a good cause is to have a good grievance, and there is a great deal in it. That is an answer to some of this argument, but there are several other answers; in the first place, a great many of these things are not true at all, which is a simple answer. The whole argument has been built up on the false reading of history leading up to the Ashburton Treaty, but in these few moments we cannot go into that subject. Still, while there is a great deal to be said on the other side even as regards the history, the details, there are even better answers. Mistakes, I think, have been made by the administrators of the Empire in the past, and in foreign policy, leading to wars, but who would refuse to admit that the administrators of the Empire were doing their very best in the interest of the Empire? I do not think that they were considering Canada primarily. I do not think we could expect that. The great majority of Canadians were not here when these difficulties arose. I believe it can be shown that British statesmen, with some mistakes, of course, mistakes are inevitable—I will not deny that some mistakes have happened—have done their best consistently for the Empire, and have tried to do their best, and that is all you can say. We are not called upon here to justify or explain the religious intolerance of the sixteenth century, or of earlier centuries, or anything of that kind. To bother with these things is to create an unhistorical atmosphere. As President Wilson said the other day in a speech, "We must deal with the facts of to-day, not with the facts of any other day." So, I believe it is a wrong attitude to take to bring up against the men of to-day, or the system of to-day, the faults and mistakes of the past. It is unhistorical, it is an unreal method of argument. You will always have inside the British Empire, as in all other organizations, mixtures of good and evil, but both in its past and in its present I think the good overbalances the evil, and that is as much as any one can say. You cannot take the Empire without the mixture. Some people want the Empire pasteurized or fumigated. It is out of the question. You must take it as a great mixed institution. We should not be put off by these small racial antipathies. I refuse myself to be put outside the British Empire by the English. There is no reason why any of us who are not English should allow ourselves to be put out. The institution is too big to be governed with a thought to these antipathies and prejudices. So, I think we may pretty well dismiss a good many of these grievances such as those of Mr. Ewart, which are sometimes repeated by Mr. Bourassa. They belong rather to the same school. It is much as if they threatened to leave Toronto because they were not asked to dinner by the Mayor every week. That sort of attitude does not get you very far.

It is not as worthy an objection as another one which is very much deeper in many Canadian minds, and one with which I myself have a great deal of sympathy, and that is that Canada's history has been a long development of self-government—a very familiar argument this—that Canadians have gradually taken over one department after another, and to think of doing anything else would be to reverse a natural process, to destroy, as is said, the autonomy of Canada. Those are two very familiar arguments in Canada at this day. They are very important arguments and need to be handled very carefully. I think it is perfectly true that Canadian history has grown in that way. I don't think any one is to blame for its doing so. There were people in England who stated quite consistently that their first business was to keep the Empire together, and that these extensions of self-government might not be good for their purposes. There were people in Canada, on the other hand, who saw the immediate needs and saw that local control would suit them better than anything else. It was really a controversy between two rights, not two wrongs. At any moment in the development of self-government we can, as conscious people and agents, say that development of self-government has gone far enough. There are still some common purposes represented by the Imperial Government. Instead of taking these over and bringing them across the ocean into Canada, we shall enter the Imperial Government and carry it on. We can scarcely regard our history as a binding power from which there is no escape. We are not on an inclined plane where we cannot stop. These things must be considered on their merits. It might have been a perfectly good policy to take over the post-office in Canada, but it might not be the best thing to take over foreign affairs. So, as to the number of Canadians on Imperial Councils, Mr. Bourassa has said, and I think perfectly truly, that sooner or later Canadians would have to be represented in these Councils. The difficulty with Mr. Bourassa is that if you gave him representation, he might not wish to take it. We all agree that Canadians must be represented in these Imperial Councils, but they cannot be represented to-day. The business goes on from day to day. You must enter it gradually. We have not the experienced people. If we enter it, we must enter it slowly and gradually in a tentative kind of way. I do not think that we shall be robbed of anything. We have no place at all in determining these foreign affairs to-day, so that we cannot lose very much. Moreover, in these big matters numbers are not taken into account. If you send over one able man, he will outweigh ten stupid men who come from some other place. That is the real answer in these matters, and any one who knows anything about government knows that this is the way in which government is carried on. You do not estimate the importance of the Maritime Provinces in Canada and in the government of Canada by their population. That would be a complete mistake, and so it is not probable that you will be able to estimate the influence of Canada in the Council of the Empire by the number of representatives whom she sends there. If we send over the right sort of people, then we shall have all the representation that any one may need. There is not sufficient time to develop these two arguments further, but these are the two arguments which should be set over against all objections of this sort. The first objection is that Canadians have always been losers, which I am convinced is not true; the second, that Canadians would lose their autonomy, which also is not well-founded.

There is a third difficulty which has been raised and which is very clear in Mr. Bourassa's Empire Club speech, as in all his speeches. It is the sort of difficulty that arises out of making difficulties, so to speak. If you stand off and look at the British Empire, an almost impossible aggregation of people, if you stand off and look at that and begin to make a picture of all the difficulties that that organization presents, you will be palsied, you will be paralysed, you will be struck helpless, and cannot move hand or foot. This is the main reason why Mr. Bourassa is afraid to move. Stand off and make difficulties and you can prevent any great achievement in any department of life. That has been very true of any political advance, such as the confederation of the United States or the confederation of Canada. There were any number of difficulties, and if people had given their attention solely to the difficulties, they would never have reached any conclusion. We must not stand helpless on the brink of a very great future. You must, if possible, correct this attitude, and it is to be corrected in only one way. You must go at this subject from another angle. You must persuade yourself, if you can do it consistently and logically, that there are common interests in the Empire and that the Empire has to be kept together. You can do it, of course, only by a study of the Empire. If you decide that there are common interests worth preserving, then the will to preserve these common interests will carry you over these difficulties. This is my real answer to Mr. Bourassa, and to Mr. Ewart, and to all his school. It is perfectly easy and it is a very common thing, as I say, to conjure up these difficulties and these obstacles, and you will never get anywhere, but if, on the other hand, after a study of the British Empire as it exists, you can convince yourselves it is worth keeping together, this very conviction will carry you over these obstacles.

It is not necessary to give reasons in an audience of this kind, why the Empire should be kept together, but it may be necessary in other cases. I propose to refer to some reasons, although I admit I am making a jumble of this important subject. There were used here recently two arguments of a certain kind intended for people who drew back from the Empire because it is a big and powerful thing. The first argument was that this Empire offers the best chance of keeping together nations inside some great political organization; that is to say, if inside this British Empire with its common traditions you cannot put together five great nations, then there is very little hope of reconciling the nations in the world at large. If you cannot remove the possibility of quarrels and war between Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, then your thoughts of international peace must vanish into air. I think that this is a very good argument. The Empire presents the best opportunity of uniting national development with a larger unity. It also offers the best opportunity of settling disputes and difficulties between black and white and white and yellow peoples; if these disputes cannot be settled inside the British Empire amicably, then how can they be settled outside in the world? This is the biggest chance—I do not say that because the Empire is a big thing, but because it presents big opportunities—this is the best chance of settling difficulties inside an area or inside a population at any rate, which includes one quarter of the world's population, the greater majority not of our colour. If we cannot work these things out inside that area, then I think even the most ardent lovers of peace will have to give the problem up outside the British Empire. These two arguments are receiving, and will probably receive in future, more attention than they have hitherto received, and I hope that they and similar arguments will be enough to convince people that the Empire has common interests. I do not ask any one to be convinced to-day, but you can at least study the question, and if you form a conviction on the subject, that these common interests are greater than the separate interests, then the constitutional difficulties will be solved for themselves.

THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

An Address by COLONEL JAMES ALLAN, Minister of Defence and Finance, New Zealand, before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 6, 1913

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I wish to thank you, first of all, for your hospitality in asking me to be your guest to-day. I think that Canada almost vies with New Zealand in hospitality. (Laughter) Since I have landed on the shores of Canada I have received nothing but kindness from the Canadian Club, from the Overseas Club, and now from the Empire Club, and from those who are interested in Imperial questions. There has been shown to me unbounded kindness, and I wish to thank you for it to-day.

I come from the far away Dominion of New Zealand, where I happen to be Minister of Finance. To us, in New Zealand, this problem of Empire defence is perhaps of more interest than it is to any other portion of the great Empire to which we are all proud to belong. Now, look at our position, gentlemen. We are situated away down in the southern seas, the bottom of the Pacific Ocean. Beside us we have a great continent, the Commonwealth of Australia, very sparsely populated, a large territory, not altogether ungoverned, but to a large extent ungoverned. We in New Zealand have just about a million people. I suppose we can support, when we are thoroughly populated, from ten to twenty million, so you realize we are not a very large country.

Gentlemen, the question of whether the Empire is going to hold together or not, has come home to us, more forcibly than to any other part of His Majesty's dominions. Why? Because we realize we cannot stand alone. And so, as I go round this great Empire, it comes from the bottom of my heart when I say to every Britisher that I meet: "Gentlemen, the great problem before us is the consolidation of the Empire and the standing together, every one of us." (Applause) This great Continent and the people that inhabit it may not realize it as we do. You have a great country, you have a great neighbour just across the borderland—friendly to-day, friendly to-morrow, friendly, let us hope, for ever. (Hear, hear) And perhaps you cannot realize as we do what it is to be small and dependent upon the help of others for our existence, for the freedom of our people, for the liberty of those who live in New Zealand, in order that they may enjoy the privileges which are theirs to-day—and they are great privileges which we have in New Zealand. We live in a most beautiful country. I am not exaggerating when I say that we live in one of the most beautiful countries in the world, with varied scenery, with equable climate, and with all that goes to make man happy, except those troubles which occur now and again from legislation which is imperfect—and we do not say that all our legislation is perfect—and from those troubles which arise now and then from those who are discontented, from those who won't work. We have those troubles amongst us—not to any very large extent I am happy to say, but still there they are. Take it on the whole, we are living in a place where men enjoy freedom and liberty and privileges which they must, if they think of it, be thankful to enjoy. We want to preserve these privileges to our people, we want to preserve our country for the flag under which we are all proud to serve, and we cannot do it alone. The question that I have asked elsewhere is this: "Can we rely on the other parts of the great Empire to stand all together and to stand by us if we ever want their help?" The answer, so far as I have gone through Canada, is unquestionable, and I have come through that portion of it where it might possibly have been thought to be doubtful, through French Canada. I do not hesitate to say from my short knowledge, perhaps it is not sufficiently wide, but from my short knowledge I do not hesitate to go back to my country and say: "French Canadians and all Canadians will stand by New Zealand if New Zealand ever wants their help." (Applause)

Now, I have only a short time to speak to you. I would like,—in this city of Toronto, which has very pleasant memories, for I was here nine years ago visiting my old school-mate, who is on my right,—to discuss with you the problem which presents itself to those who have been trying to think out this question of Empire consolidation. There are some in Australia, few I hope and few I believe—possibly there are some here in Canada—whose one ideal is a great nationality for Australia or a great nationality for Canada, ultimately developing into a great nation standing alone by itself. That is one policy that is before us. That policy will not lead to the imperialism which is before the New Zealander's mind every day.

There is another policy. It is represented by a man like Jebs. Some of you probably have met him or you have read his works; he has written on colonial nationalism. The policy that he presents to the public is the policy of Britannic alliance. We are all to build up separate nationalities, we are to be absolutely separate as nations, and yet we are to be an alliance. I have tried to think that policy out, and I cannot come to any definite conclusion about it, and for us in New Zealand we must have something clear and definite, something which makes us feel safe. I cannot recommend to you the Britannic alliance.

Then we come to the last policy which has been presented by thinking men to the public of this great Empire, and that is, the problem of Imperial Federation at some time or another. We shall have to come to it I believe by steps that are gradual. It will have to be evolved out of our experiences, just as the Mother Country has evolved out of her experiences her Constitution of to-day, and just as you in Canada have been evolving out of your short experiences your Constitution of to-day. So I hope, in the future, will be evolved that greater constitution which will unite us all together in a bond which will preserve all our freedoms and all our liberties. (Applause)

Let me just for a few moments show, if I can, how I think the question may be wrought out. We have taken some steps already. The invitation by the Mother Country to the Imperial Conference was a great step in advance, and I have no hesitation in saying it has been a great education to Colonial statesmen and not to us only, but a great education to the British statesman that he has met men who think, men who are developing great countries, as you are; men who are making empire, as you are and as we are. They cannot neglect us, and they cannot neglect what we think; and the evidence that they do not neglect us was first given to us when they invited us to their Imperial Conference. It was a step in advance.

They took another step and a very pronounced one, when they invited prominent statesmen from these outside Dominions to the Committee on Imperial Defence. (Applause) I have had the honour of being asked by the Prime Minister to attend two meetings of this Committee of Imperial Defence in London, quite recently. And I wish to say to you that I have received every consideration from the members of that Committee. I went to England on behalf of the government in New Zealand, first of all, to arrange for money. I found that Canada was sucking the place so awfully dry it was hard to get it. (Laughter) I went, in the second place, to arrange for the organization of an expeditionary force from New Zealand to help the Mother Country, a force not of naval men but of soldiers—to arrange for the organization of this expeditionary force from the shores of New Zealand to serve any part of the Empire that needed it. And they helped me in every possible way, and I have no doubt that we shall arrange that organization as soon as I go back. And I also went to consult with the Admiralty as to what ought to be the permanent policy in respect to naval questions in New Zealand. Gentlemen, I cannot disclose to you—it is not right that I should—what I have to recommend to the Cabinet of New Zealand when I go back, in regard to naval policy. All I want to say in connection with the Committee of Imperial Defence, is that I should have found it an extremely difficult thing to settle with the Admiralty alone the policy of New Zealand with regard to naval defence. When it did come down to the Committee of Imperial Defence, when the Prime Minister could hear what both sides had to say, and the rest of the Committee could hear what both sides had to say, I found no difficulty. (Applause) I say to you that this great step which has been taken, of asking us to attend a Committee of Imperial Defence, is a very pronounced step towards consolidation of Empire.

If we statesmen can be invited by the Prime Minister to come from our various Dominions to attend that Committee of Imperial Defence; if, notwithstanding our agreements or our disagreements, we can come and present our case to an absolutely favourable tribunal—and I use the word "favourable" advisedly—if we can present our case to a favourable tribunal, as I believe the Committee of Imperial Defence is to us, then I have no hesitation in saying that we are going very fast indeed along the road which will lead to unity of Empire. (Applause)

Now, these are the three phases of the question that present themselves, I believe, to the minds of thinking men. I do not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the latter one. As a New Zealander, I must say so; as I have hinted to you before, the consolidation of the Empire is everything to us.

In the years gone by the Mother Country alone could control all the seas of the world. Some of her statesmen think that she does to-day. Well, they have only to come to my country, and although it may be absolutely true, that a decisive victory in the North Sea may settle the question in the Pacific, yet you cannot go away to the other end of the world and settle down and make your homes and develop your country, make it rich, make it a pleasant place for man to live in, without realizing, after you have gathered these riches together, that there is something to defend there, too. (Hear, hear) And so the question is not to us only a question of one decisive battle in the Mediterranean Sea or in the North Sea; the question, as it presents itself to us, from the Imperial point of view is this: The Empire ought to be in the position in which she was very many years ago, controlling every sea and every line of communication by sea. Our lines of communication are by sea. We are not like some of those great continental nations which have their roads and their bridges and their railways, as their means of communications. The sea is everything to us in New Zealand—little island that we are, the home of not a large population—the sea that girds us is everything to us. We cannot contemplate with equanimity the possibility of our trade routes being even temporarily blocked; for the wealth of our people depends upon their being able to send away their products and receive returns from other countries. We want to send to you, we are sending to you, and I am very happy, indeed, to know that New Zealand is already supplying Canada with butter. I wondered, when I heard it, why Canada was not supplying her own butter. (Laughter) But our butter comes here, and we take things from you in return, and we shall be happy indeed to continue to take things in return. Let us make that great sea-way, that protected sea-way, safe for us at all times, so that whatever you want from us, and whatever we want from you, may come in safety.

I do not think that there is any greater conception for any man or any statesman than the great conception that is before the thinking British statesmen of to-day, the Empire statesmen of to-day. It is a great thing to have in one's thoughts that an English-speaking people scattered all over the globe may sink differences, even party politics, as we have done in New Zealand, for the purposes of our common defence. Gentlemen, let us keep clear in our minds, that one thing—defence. I know there are some who believe that the trade question and other questions must be considered in connection with it. It may be, that in the ultimate investigation, that in the process of development, some things will have to be considered in this matter of defence which we now want to exclude, because they make the question so difficult to solve; but, for my own part, I leave them out for the time being. I am a student—as I hope we all are—trying to discover what have been in the past the causes of all our foreign difficulties, all our diplomatic tangles, and all our wars. And if we can get down to a basis on which we can all unite for common defence without troubling ourselves too much over the things which render it difficult to unite, then let us get down to that common basis and all stand together. (Applause)

There is just one other thing I want to say before I close. I have come from New Zealand around the world, and I have valued very highly indeed the education that it has been to me. One does not realize, if he lives in his own country and never comes away from it, exactly what the other parts of our Empire are like. I did not realize, until I came to Canada, how solid Canadian opinion is. I do believe that Canadian opinion, as far as I have gone, is thoroughly sound upon this great question of inter-Empire defence. (Applause) But what we would like, we who live away on the other side of the globe, is this: we would like to get some of the Imperial statesmen to come down to see, and not only to see, but to be among us, and to realize what we feel about this matter.

If any of you Canadians ever can find an opportunity to come down to Australia or New Zealand, I bid you very heartily welcome, and so will my country I know. Come down for commercial or other reasons and absorb a little bit of Australian and New Zealand feeling and sentiment. The national sentiment and local patriotism of New Zealand has produced there a more loyal community than will be found even on the shores of Great Britain herself. We are trying to keep a pure white race. We are trying to protect our labour from a competition that would not be fair to it. We know what that policy may ultimately lead us to. No man in New Zealand wants to be in a state of conflict with anybody. If those outside of us will leave us peaceably to enjoy our own country and develop it, and allow us to have our trade routes open, we shall never raise an arm of offence. But if anybody does want to interfere with us, or interfere with you, then we want to be in a position to raise our arms so strongly that there shall be no doubt about the issue, that the Empire cannot have any doubt about the issue.

I cannot go further than that to-day. You are in the throes of a debate here, and I must be very careful not to interfere in any way with your local politics, but I am going away, and my final message to you is this: Great Canada, great as you are, do not forget that there are other portions of the British Empire and that they have not your size and your possibilities, but they do want to be with you and with the Empire in the developments of the future.

A word or two about New Zealand's system of defence. We have adopted, as you know, a compulsory system of training, and I happen to be Minister of Defence. We have good solid reasons for the adoption of our scheme of national training and the result is beneficial.

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for your kind reception.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1913

Gentlemen,—Since the Annual General Meeting held in the old St. Charles Restaurant, on Thursday, May 30, 1912, twenty-three meetings of the Empire Club, and thirteen meetings of the Executive have been held, the latter dealing with matters respecting the activities and welfare of the Club.

The most important action at the beginning of the year was the consummation of the Incorporation of the Club, together with such amendments as were necessary to give effect to the same; and much praise is due to Mr. J. M. Clark for his close attention to the matter, and for bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion.

The range of the Club Addresses illustrates the breadth and intensity of its Imperial scope and sentiment, and the variety of the topics which naturally fall within its purview. The personnel of the speakers has been as diverse as their themes, and the interest of the members has been well sustained throughout. Of outside names we have had the pleasure of listening to: Sir George H. Reid, High Commissioner for Australia; H. Page Croft, Esq., Unionist M.P. for Christchurch; Rt. Hon. Walter H. Long, M.P.; Dr. George R. Parkin, and many of our own most prominent political, commercial, legal, educational, and ecclesiastical leaders. The flow of the mother-tongue, week by week, has been interrupted by the strong yet pleasing accents of a Norwegian Traveller and Explorer, a French Canadian Orator, and a Lecturer from the distant Empire of Turkey; and the utmost courtesy has been accorded to all who honoured the Club by their presence as speakers.

It had been the intention of the Executive to hold the Second Annual Empire Day Dinner on the 24th of the present month, and the Committee had advanced far with the arrangements, when finding that His Royal

Highness, the Duke of Connaught, the distinguished guest of the occasion, could not be present owing to the continued and disquieting illness of Her Royal Highness, the Duchess, it was decided to postpone the event to the Autumn when, it is hoped, their Royal Highnesses may be with us to grace the occasion. With this action, your Executive believes, you are quite in accord. While our disappointment is great that the postponement has to take place, our anxiety for the Royal patient and sympathy with our most beloved and honoured Governor-general is far greater. To him was sent, after the decision of the Executive, the following cablegram:

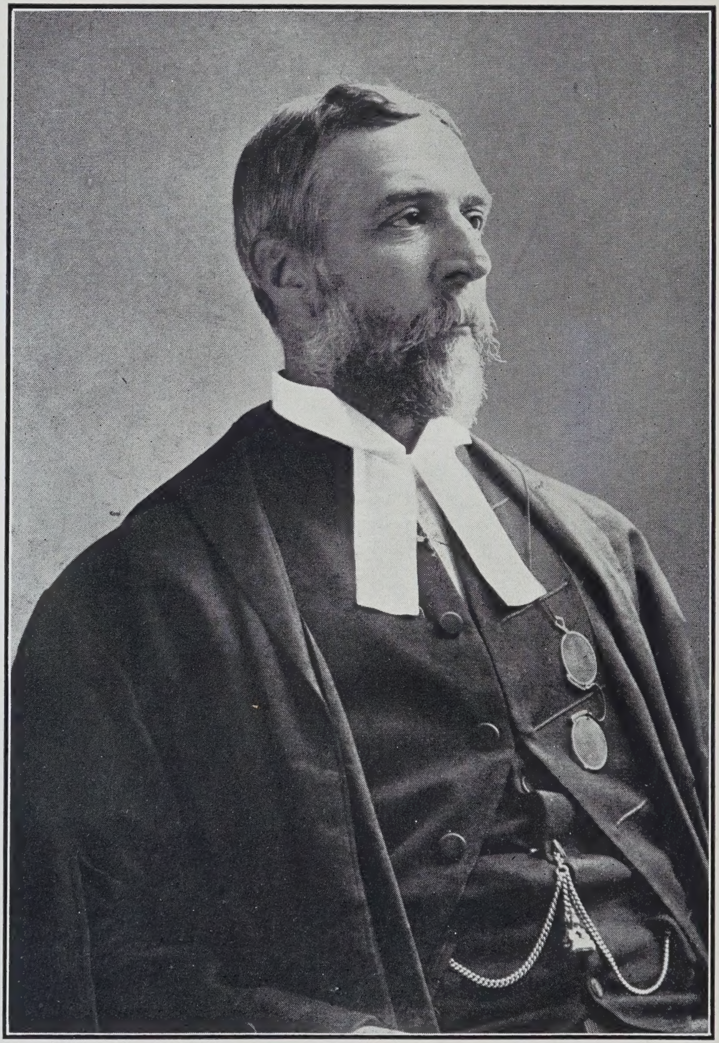
His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, London.
Sympathy continued illness Her Royal Highness. Empire Day Dinner postponed in consequence.
The President and Committee,
The Empire Club of Canada

His Royal Highness replied as follows:

The President,
Empire Club of Canada, Toronto.
Thank you and Committee kind sympathy
Arthur

That God, the Life-giver, may speedily and completely restore Her Royal Highness and permit them both to return for a longer stay among us, is, I am sure, the sincere wish of every loyal member of the Empire Club.

I cannot bring this brief address to a close without expressing my great indebtedness to past Presidents, and especially to my worthy predecessor, Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., and to the Executive Committee for all the valued assistance they have given me in the honoured and appreciated position in which a year ago you were good enough to place me. If there has been any measure of success attending the Club in 1912-13, it has been due entirely to those who have rallied to the support of its appreciative President. May I bespeak for my successor in this post of so great honour, the same loyal backing and support which I myself have enjoyed and which will linger through many years, a living memory of a happy and greatly enjoyed Chairmanship.



THE HONOURABLE JAMES CRAIG
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1913-14.

PART II.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS
DURING THE SESSION
OF 1913-14

EDITED BY

REV. ALFRED HALL

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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

GLIMPSES OF THE EAST

An Address by HON. G. E. FOSTER, D.C.L., LL.D., Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, Oct. 16, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The chairman and myself are at one on two points: First, he said you knew all about me; I come pretty near to occupying the same position, I know a good deal but not quite all about myself. Then, he said, he did not know anything about what I was going to say, and on that point we are pretty nearly on a par. The trouble seems to be that whenever you are good enough to invite me, I always say yes, and then the trouble commences. Now, I am not going to make a speech to-day of any set character. It will be diversified whatever there is in it; it will be scrappy; it may be a little bit interesting, especially to those who have not lately travelled the same route that I have traversed, and it may help us—not so much in the particular abundance of information—by way of suggestions, and impel us to implement the information which we already possess of eastern countries, information which is, I fear, somewhat circumscribed with the most of us. The chairman asked me for a heading to indicate the line of my talk, and I gave him—

"Glimpses of the East."

All we have ever had, even the best read amongst us, with reference to the East—and that taken from books—is little more thorough or more exhaustive than glimpses. People who have lived in China, and Japan, and India, for practically the whole of their natural lives, and have had much to do with these peoples, and by confessing that with all their living association and knowledge they do not yet understand the people amongst whom they have been living, and find it difficult to get far inside the Oriental mind. I think most of us can say that the East has always had a fascination for us; from our studies in the Sunday Schools, and from our reading of the Old and New Testament history our minds have drawn towards the East with more than ordinary interest. The East is the cradle of our race. The East has seen the advent of those who have founded the four great religious systems of the world, which to-day embrace within their beliefs the great majority of living people. The East has been associated with great civilizations; great empires, which have now long since passed away and lie buried, fruitful subjects for exploration in this and future ages, for those who wish to dig down to the foundations of these old buried civilizations and interpret to us anew something of their history, part of which we have lost, and part of which we never knew at all. From the East have come these great outpourings of humanity, that have carried fire and sword to the very middle of Western Europe. The East in later periods has become to Englishmen, and perhaps to Europe generally, a source of renewed interest, because Great Britain has through a series of years gradually assumed the position of being almost as much an Asiatic as she is a European Empire. Her vast possessions in Egypt, in India, and her paramount interests in and around China and Japan, with the Pacific islands, large and small, which belong to her,—these all are eloquent proofs that the roots of the Empire have struck deep and wide into the eastern world, where Great Britain has taken upon herself trusts of profound importance; trusts which she is bound in her own honour to fulfill; the nonfulfillment of which would cause immense confusion and disaster to vast multitudes in the eastern world. The means of communication with the East have greatly improved. How distant and remote they were in the olden time from the point of view of an overland passage, or even of a passage by the sea around the Capes. The vast navigable highways had to be sought out, and the passage made with less knowledge of the craft, and with far less machinery of navigation than we possess at the present time. Later the Suez Canal opened a new route; another through America is now being opened to the East, and Britain has to guard her vessels plying on those routes from Liverpool and London through the Mediterranean, through the Indian Ocean, and through the Pacific. The development of late years has drawn us into closer neighbourhood with the great mass of people in the Orient; by immigration into our own country; and into the United States. Our undeveloped continents of fifty and a hundred years ago have become highways for great national railway organizations; they have made communication from the East to the West; whilst out from the great ports of the West have been gradually built up the modern steamship services which provide regular transportation and communication to every great port and city of the eastern world. And so, gradually, by the very force of progress and expansion, these once far distant and almost mythical regions have been brought closer and closer to us. The Atlantic has not lost the interest which it has long had for us on this continent, but we have been forced to turn our faces in another direction, to look towards the future, as it will be affected by the East, from our western continental shores.

And so it is that those countries that were formerly so distant and remote have been brought nearer. The advance has been gradual from both ends of the prospect, and the people of these two great regions, here in America, there in Asia, are now side by side, looking into each other's faces, and hearing each other's voices, and listening to what each has to say. They are close neighbours now, and will be closer neighbours in the future; first, by geography, as we get a better understanding of it; and, secondly, by the improvements in navigation and the means of communication, and the spread of trade and commerce. My only plea for bringing these matters before you at all is that I wish to enforce the lesson, which cannot be too strongly enforced, that we are neighbours, and are destined to be still closer neighbours, since we are being drawn nearer to each other as the years pass by, it is high time that we in the West set ourselves to study and understand the peoples of the East. It is high time that we lost a little of the superabundant pride in ourselves, and commenced to seriously study the history, the civilization and the conditions of that great eastern world, and find out whether or not there is something there which we do not yet understand, but which, if we knew it as we ought to know it, would dispel our prejudices and incline us more to fair and reasonable views, and make us more appreciatory of the mighty East with all its powers and possibilities. I am not going to trouble you much with figures, but venture to press one consideration upon you. On that vast Pacific Ocean which extends from the northern regions of Alaska down past Cape Horn on the one side, and on the other with China and the Australian Archipelago direct of approach,—on that great, vast, mighty Pacific Ocean there is an immense trade. Australia has a sea-borne trade to-day of $700,000,000—do not go away with the idea that Australia and New Zealand are not in the Asiatic sphere; they lie there, and must loom large in our study of this question. New Zealand has a sea-borne trade of $200,000,000. The United States' dependencies,—the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands and Alaska together,—have a sea-borne trade of $200,000,000; China $560,000,000; Japan $460,000,000; the United States' Pacific coast $150,000,000; Canada, on the Pacific coast, from $30,000,000 to $40,000,000; and Latin America, as indicated by the various Republics and States of the south, of hundreds of millions more, altogether making up the almost astonishing total of nearly $3,000,000,000 of ocean-borne trade which passes in and out, whatever its ultimate destination may be, of ports in regions bordering upon the Pacific Ocean. Now, that is a mighty factor in itself, but it is mightier when you take some other things into consideration. But I have given you an idea of the one in order that you may have something by which to judge of the possibilities of all. This trade is now only just commencing; future years will see it rolling up and rolling up to proportions which we cannot now commence to figure out. But that is not all of it. There is also this additional factor. On this line of coast in Australia; in New Zealand; in Latin America; in the United States and Canada, you have about 150,000,000 people of the Anglo-Saxon or Latin races. On the other hand, in the Orient, you have 300,000,000 in India; 400,000,000 in China; 65,000,000 in Japan, and you have probably somewhere near 100,000,000 Orientals in other Asiatic settlements, making in all something like 900,000,000 of the population bordering the Pacific strictly and purely Oriental, as compared with 150,000,000 of Anglo-Saxon and Latin races. These are the human factors, but the mere preponderance of numbers does not show yet the entire analysis. The Oriental population of 900,000,000 works for infinitely less, spends infinitely less; the cost of living to those in these parts of the world is infinitely less—for food, for clothing, for shelter, for fuel, they are hampered but little in comparison with the other races I have spoken of. More than that—and this runs counter to an idea that too many of us have—I take it upon myself to say that for pure human labour, labour unassisted by mechanical devices, the Chinese and the Japanese are, man for man, equal to the other races—for pure unremitting lust and enjoyment of labour. You must add that to the sum of what I have stated. Of course the white man will take a machine, and with the machine, added to his own power, he will turn out a mighty lot of stuff. But I am resting upon the human factor for the moment—what for? I have heard the statement, we have all heard the statement, that the Anglo-Saxon races are not reproducing their kind to the extent they should; they are either on the stationary line, or actually retrogressive. The Oriental peoples on the contrary produce rapidly, and if it were not for their lack of sanitation and of the science of medicine, and good health conditions, their increase would be very much multiplied. But make no mistake. As in Japan at the present time, so in China of the future, sanitary methods of living, and medical science, will come into their own and the lamentable loss of young life in these regions will gradually diminish. It is true, and no one who studies the question will doubt it, that if the same sanitary methods had been in vogue in China during the last thirty years, that exist in European countries and America, China to-day would be almost smothered by the overplus of population upon the soil, which is taxed now almost to its uttermost to provide its 400,000,000 with food. So that you have to look into the future, when some of these improvements I have mentioned, have been in whole or in part adopted by these Orientals, and conjure up to yourself what is going to happen when in the future years these improvements take place, as they absolutely will take place. Now, you have the human factor, and that I have mentioned so as to make you take into account what should give us reason for thought and consideration as to what will happen when in the future, something more or less than 400,000,000 of the population of China will have advanced as far as the 65,000,000 of Japan have now advanced, in organization, systematization of work, in the perfection of mechanical devices brought to their aid, and in all that makes for industrial progress and development —What will happen in the world's history? One thing is sure. Economic, political, and social factors are gradually shaping themselves, and will come ultimately into concrete and practical form, which may cause at the first confusion, and possible disaster, in the wide range of the world's economic, industrial, and political development. But why have I said all this? To just simply enforce the remark I am going to make here: that we people living on this side of the Pacific do not advance the question one single iota by standing here and inveighing against the Hindoo; the brown and Oriental races on the Pacific coast. Vehement denunciation, and equally vehement assertions of what we are, of what we have done, and of what we will do are all very well for home consumption, but they do not in the least degree tend to solve that world problem which is before us. Equally futile the remarks of the Japanese, the Chinese, or other Orientals, standing on the opposite shore of the Pacific, and telling us how little they think of us, and what they are going to do with us some of these days. Both these attitudes are equally futile. But what I have adduced from my observations and the information I have gathered has enforced on me this lesson: that the sooner we get down to hard pan the better, and the hard pan is the study of each other's conditions—ideals, modes of thought, methods of progress, which lie back in the mind and bear on practical work and development, so that as neighbours—and we are bound to be neighbours—we may have a better understanding of each other. We may avoid disagreements and work for the peace of humanity, for ultimate human happiness, and human development—(loud applause). It was impossible not to have profited in the varied journeys I made—and which I just take occasion to say here has been absolutely the greatest privilege of my whole life. I do not know anything in my lifetime that I consider has been a greater privilege and a greater advantage to me than my thirty-five thousand mile trip in these countries of the Pacific Ocean. It is a privilege, indeed, to be allowed to make such a tour of observation, even though it was a more or less cursory and hurried examination of conditions as they exist in these countries. What we gather from books and in the study of geography is in no way to be compared to what we learn by travel and actual inspection. No man who has ever gone outside his own country but knows how much he has had to unlearn. How he has had to widen his field of vision and fill in impressions that never are given you in books or geographies. So, I say, men in public life, men in professional and private life, should omit no opportunity of visiting and learning something of their fellow men in other climes, of other countries, and living under other conditions. Thus it is we learn by a close inspection of the personal element more than by any other means.

The islands of the Pacific have their attractions and their fascinations. As one sails on these deep blue seas, dotted with innumerable small islands that lie as mere specks on a limitless ocean, with the white surf beating upon their coral shores, and the deep green lagoons lying within their narrow rims—fringed with tropical verdure, topped by stately cocoanut palms, and other tropical trees, the fascination grows and one wishes to land at and linger in each. Each one of these islands holds something of interest to the traveller, has some mystery in it, of people or products, and it must be remembered that there are thousands of these islands, each with its mysteries; its hidden past, its strange peoples, its odd forms of life, plant and animal, or whatever it may be, of strange customs and strange ideals. And so one feels when he is well launched on the Pacific that he is caught and held by a mysterious fascination which grips his imagination and softly infuses its influence into his blood. Passing along the six channels from atoll to atoll, from large island to large island, it suffices just to look, and see, and watch, and perchance to find out what lies therein. One feels that they have been there so long, and that they provide a field for such interesting observation and discovery.

But we must pass from this and say just a few words of our sister colony, the great Commonwealth of Australia: Australia is a country large in area and in possibilities, and pretty close up to ours in both. But there are differences between Australia and Canada which are strongly marked, and one of these is found in the populations of the two countries. In Australia 96 per cent. of its population to-day has been born either in Australia or in the United Kingdom. There you have an almost pure British race eight thousand miles away from the Mother Country, and equally distant from their nearest blood neighbour on this side—the Dominion of Canada. Lying away down there in the southern corner of the Pacific Ocean, fringed from the middle of their western boundary, all round their northern and northeastern boundary, not by Anglo-Saxons, but by the dark races which in dense numbers peer out from their swarming abodes upon them, little wonder that Australia is influenced by a feeling which we, in Canada, under different conditions, can hardly understand—a feeling of disquiet and impending menace. So when you hear now and then that the Australian nation is somewhat sensitive as to its position geographically, or strategically, you must bear in mind that that four and a half million people are fringed round with eight or nine hundred million people close to their borders, and of races and with ideals of civilization that they do not understand, and that in the main that are alien to them. Australia with its great possibilities has also its great disadvantages compared with Canada in this respect, that they lack there the everlasting glint and flow and sparkle of the abundant water which in Canada is our crown of rejoicing, and our great vivifying agency. Their rivers are mostly fed from the rains falling in the eastern coast range of mountains and consequently their courses are mostly short, and their flow intermittent, long and strong, and strong flowing rivers they have none. They have rivers which, in the flood season, tear and rush towards the sea with destructive force, and then for months gradually dwindle away by outflow and evaporation. Australia is a cuplike basin, the highest rim of which is on its north and northeast coast, rising to an elevation of seven thousand feet in some cases, not far removed from the sea, and sloping gradually down into the great central basin of Australia until at Lake Eyre it is below the sea level, and then rising somewhat towards the western and northwestern boundary again. 500,000 square miles of Australian territory are embraced within this flat basin, and 1,000,000 square miles of Australian savannahs never get beyond an average of 10 inches of rain per year, running down in some cases to 5 and 2. When you come on to the upper rim of the northeast they get from 150 to 160 inches of rain in the year, but the mountains are close to the sea, and so the flow on either side is short in comparison to the flow of rivers in Canada, and consequently the portions of this vast area of land which is sufficiently fed by the rains is comparatively limited. But there is one thing that helps. As you come down from that rim towards the central basin you pass what is called the great artesian district, and it was thought at one time it might be possible to irrigate by means of this artesian water the vast tracts of land, and great stretches of country all through Australia, the idea being to utilize this subterranean lake of moisture and make the country through that region fairly inhabitable. Well, investigations have been made, and they do not quite bear out the hope. There are all sorts of theories for these artesian wells in this basin of Australia. As a member of the Royal Commission I heard some interesting discussions on them. Every man has his own theory of their origin, and has some version of the scientific investigations that have been made, but they seem never to have been able to get at the bottom of the question. One man, however, was absolutely positive he had solved the difficulty. The reason you find water, he said, in that great central basin is this: In the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, off the French coast, there is a large hole which goes far down and is thence conducted by a subterranean channel to the centre of Australia and is then forced to the surface by the pressure of so great a current.

He was positive that he had solved the question. I could not prove the contrary. I could not say that there was not a hole in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. So far, however, as we can see, the most plausible theory is this, that the northeastern rim of this central basin, which comprises some 500,000 square miles, forms a series of intake beds and the rains falling therein gradually filter down by a slow rate of progress towards the centre until they form these internal reservoirs of moisture which are tapped by bores and become artesian or sub-artesian wells. Some 1,650 bores have been sunk in that region, running from 200 feet to 5,000 feet deep, and the water in some cases rises and jets out above the surface, and in other cases rises to a certain height in the bore and is then pumped up the rest of the way. Wells bored or driven are established which at the present time give some 620,000 gallons daily, drawn from these artesian bores. But what is that to such an immense area of territory? And what makes it more disappointing is that although this water may be used for stock, and although it is invaluable for sheep running on territory which suffers at periods from a certain type of drought, and whilst it may be drunk without bad effect by people, it is absolutely destructive to vegetable life, and lands which have been watered by it suddenly loose their verdure and refuse to produce. So that making the best that can be made of these parts of Australia; by irrigation, by the conservation and economic use of her supplies of moisture, the supply in these central regions is at best scanty. Now, do not think because I have said this that Australia does not amount to much. Australia does. She has the most wonderful resources. Recollect that Australia is—five-thirteenths of it—tropical. We seldom think of that; but in that territory can be raised everything that can be raised in tropical countries. The only trouble is in the wherewithal of labour to till the soil. The country has adopted the motto, "A white Australia." This is not only the idea of the Labour party; but is embedded equally strongly in the minds of all political parties. Whether they can by this means develop their tropical country or not is for them to solve. But they are going straight at it. When once they solve that question, five-thirteenths of Australia will raise anything that can be raised in tropical countries: Sugar, Cotton, all kinds of tropical products, all in abundance and of the best quality. Outside of that area, the extent of agricultural territory is immense in itself. The thing that strikes you in Australia is the illimitable resources pitted against a scanty population of only four and one-half million people. Owing to the disadvantage of distance, from those allied most closely to them by ties of blood and social aspirations, their immigration has not been strong and plentiful. To-day the crying need of Australia is labour—labour everywhere—labour to cope with and overcome, and bring into commercial productiveness the rich natural resources she has in every shape and form. Her climate is in many respects delightful; almost too delightful. But when they commiserated me because we had snow, and frost, and ice in Canada, I told them that take it all in all, maybe our snows, and frosts, and ice, and perhaps other trying conditions in Canada, would tend to build up a nationality of vigourous fibre, of greater vigour and more enterprising than ever they, with their mild and easy climate, could hope to develop in the future. Some advantages Australia has over us that we never can overcome; certain advantages Canada has which Australia can never hope to enjoy, so we will look at our mutual advantages and make little of our differences of advantage; being assured that in each case a strong and progressive people is being moulded for future nationhood in the British Empire. Some people ask me whether or not I found any imperial sentiment among the people of Australia. Why, yes, Sir, I did. They toast the King just as often and as loyally as we do; they sing God Save the King just as often and with as strong a fervour and—if I may be permitted that comparison, because the Australians are probably a more musical people than we—they sing God Save the King more musically than we do here. No, there is in Australia no party that stands for severance from the Empire. They have too much common sense (loud applause), but if they did not have the necessary amount of common sense their interests, anxiety for their security and safety would teach them to remain under the wings of the Empire for their defence, and for that peace which is necessary for their development. But they do not look at it in that way. The difference between Canada and Australia lies principally in the view in which the provinces in our country, and the states in Australia regard the Federal authority. The states were everything in Australia until a very few years ago, and each state was tremendously patriotic for itself, if anything it was inclined to boast over its neighbour in this respect, each claiming a great advantage for itself over other states. That is good, if it does not go too far. And so a strong state patriotism and strong state feelings were ripe at the birth of the Federation. The difference between Australia and Canada in one word is: that we have been happy in being an older Federation and having time enough to develop a strong national feeling. Our provincial differences have shaded off until now every province in Canada is proud of the whole of Canada, and does not depreciate any other portion of it. That strong national feeling that Confederation has developed here for Canada is worth more to us than all the natural resources of Canada put together; worth more to us as an element in nation building. That dominating national feeling has not yet been strongly developed in Australia; the Commonwealth is of too recent origin. The set views of the state in Australia was so strong that it is difficult to modify that feeling, and there is more jealousy between states of the Commonwealth than there is between the provinces of the Dominion in this respect. But the comparatively weak national feeling they have now will strengthen as they grow, and you must give them time to grow. But they make up in a strong imperial feeling what they may lack in a national sense, and I would say the imperial feeling in Australia is stronger even than the imperial feeling in Canada. The Empire bulks larger with them than it has in the past with us, and the desire to stand by work as a part of a common Empire shows no lagging in spirit, no hesitation on their part, and is as strong or stronger, I think, with them than it is with us. That, however, is only my personal analysis. They have politics in Australia as we have here, quite as militant and as uncertain. It was not comfortable for one to go down there to talk about preferential arrangements, and just as you had everything in good shape for an election to come along, for yourself to play the part of an interested spectator for two months, then to find that the government you were working with suddenly defeated and yourself left without an audience; the old government gone, and a new government striving for birth. Once born this new government found itself in this peculiar condition. As a result of the election the Labour Party which had held the reins of government for three years, had been defeated, and the Liberal Party had been placed in power, but with a majority of only one in the House of Representatives. When Mr. Cook, the new Premier, had elected his Speaker then the forces were equally divided —37 on each side. But the position was worse still in the Upper House. Oh, these recalcitrant Upper

Houses! In the Upper House the Labour Party has three to one against the Liberal Party, so that whatever is passed in the House of Representatives runs up against a stone wall in the Upper House. What are they going to do—ask Sir Wilfrid Laurier what he would do with a majority of one in the House of Commons, and an adverse majority in the Upper Chamber. Ask if any man would like to administer the affairs of Canada under these conditions, and you know just exactly what they are trying to do down there in Australia. An amusing thing happened. The Labour Party in opposition said: "We will give you Liberals the time of your life." Before the government had even brought down its policy a vote of want of confidence was moved, no pairs were given and all the members had to be on hand and in waiting. They could attend no functions, not even a wedding or a funeral. How could they? A vote might be suddenly brought on during absence, and the party to which the absentee belonged would be in serious jeopardy. The smallpox broke out in Sydney and vaccination, which in Australia is compulsory—was vigourously resorted to. One of the Labour members had conscientious scruples against vaccination, resisted its application and as a consequence was hustled into quarantine, whilst his party in the House was in dire distress by the reduction of this one vote which of course on a division would increase the government majority by one hundred per cent. Imagine the mutterings on the one side and the demoniac gleam of delight on the countenances of members of the other side. And so the merry war of obstruction goes on, the government ekes out a precarious existence from day to day by the casting vote of the Speaker. Now, from this impossible situation there seems to be only one way of escape. The senators are elected for a term of six years and one-half of those are elected every three years. As a result of the last election all the senators are in for either six years or for three years. For the government therefore to dissolve the House of Representatives would not affect the situation in the Senate where they are in a minority of one to three. But, if they pass a

Bill in the Lower House and send it to the Senate, and it is rejected there or amended, within three months it can be sent up again, and if it is rejected again the Governor-General can be asked to consent to a dissolution not only of the Lower House but also of the Senate. So the six-year term senators and the three-year term senators are wondering what is going to happen if they twice reject a government measure. They will, of course, do all they can to prevent dissolution, as they do not wish to lose the unexpired balance of their terms. The whole effort therefore of the opposition will be directed towards preventing the passage of any contentious measure in the Lower House. But a double dissolution will have to come before political conditions in Australia settle down into working shape. Now, you are all busy men and probably want to get back to your offices.

THE MEMBERS PRESENT: Go on, go on, and loud cheers.

MR. FOSTER: I think I will have to stop here—

SOME MEMBERS: Go on, go on, and loud applause.

MR. FOSTER: If you say so, and if the chairman will give me his permission—

THE CHAIRMAN smiled angelically.

MR. FOSTER: Well, Sir, no greater contrast can be imagined than to go from Australia and enter the borders of China. You do not notice it so much when you go into Hong Kong or Shanghai. Hong Kong is a British colony; one of the greatest British seaports; one of the many seaport outposts of Empire scattered throughout the wide world. Hong Kong is on an island entirely of British occupancy, under British control, although the vast majority of the people are Chinese. There they have modern improvements; railways on the streets; the conveniences of electricity everywhere, and all the modern aids to comfortable living. But if one wishes to see China do not visit Hong Kong and Shanghai alone with the idea that you will thereby see China as it is. You will not. Nor will you even get a glimmering idea of what it is. In order to get an idea of China you must go into the interior of the country. And so I went to Canton, taking the railway up to Canton some one hundred miles, passing through a most beautiful country region, where every foot of soil seemed to be under a high state of cultivation, carried on by the most intensive method, with cultivation, men and women workers everywhere. The deep green rice fields that were then growing up, the hills in the distance, treeless everyone, and yet covered everywhere to their very tips with a verdure which smiled in the bright sunshine. Everywhere through hill and dale, on every escarpment and in every valley of the country were to be seen the workers of the fields—men and women, toiling from early morning till late at night, and through this hundred miles of cultivated beauty I come to the great city of Canton. Canton has two and one-half million people; it is a walled city, as all Chinese cities are; vast, huge, broad walls, which must, when built in olden time, have taxed the labour capacity of their people almost beyond computation to build,—in those times when mechanical helps were not so well developed as now. Arrived at the station, you must not forget it is Canton and call for a carriage, for no carriage is available, no, not even for a rickshaw—for there is no such modern development as rickshaws in Canton. The only means of transports in Canton is to trust to your two feet, or, take the ubiquitous Sedan chair slung on bamboo poles in which you are carried on the shoulders of two or four porters through the multitudinous streets of the vast city. Everybody and everything has to go that way; every pound of commercial wares, every pound of raw material, every pound of manufactured stuff; every pound of everything has to be borne by human carriers in this same way. There is neither horse, nor mule, nor donkey, nor cart—none of these; all is borne by human labour and travail and every man, and every pound of goods that has to be carried has to be carried in that way. Then the streets of Canton! When you strike a street that is six feet wide you are in Broadway, Pall Mall, or Picadilly, but generally you get into smaller streets running about four to four and a half feet wide, and that is where you see Chinese life in action. Everybody going in every direction; every mortal thing you can think of being carried; an exhaustless mass of humanity, some gaily clad, more nude to the waist, hustling and bustling through these narrow crowded byways of Canton. And so you will pass through endless streets and continuous sweltering hordes of humanity where countless humans make and sell every conceivable thing by the old primitive handicraft methods, from the crudest of toys to the most beautiful of silks. The mass is good natured, noisy in its babel of call and chatter, assiduous in evil for there are no Sundays and half holidays in Canton.

But when you go to Canton you should have at ready call handkerchiefs well saturated with Eau-de-Cologne and easy of approach to your olfactory nerves. For Canton, like other Chinese cities, has no sewage system —none. Of the two and a half million people who live there every drop of liquid or other human excreta is taken out in buckets and baskets slung on bamboo poles and borne on the shoulders of the patient, willing, human carrier, all destined for the land as a precious and priceless offering. The whole mass of humanity slipping and sliding—on they go, and you go with them. Every drop of that human excreta is a valuable asset and provides the means of fertilizing their farms and gardens, and is treasured up and used with a care unthought of in our own country, and is dealt out to the soil which is thereby fertilized to an extent that no soil in any other country is fertilized. It is rather hard on the smelling organism of a Britisher, but this careful domestic economy is at the bottom of the commercial stamina of Japan and China. Now, I will allude to a personal incident if the reporters will promise not to take it down—it was rather in the nature of a take down to myself. The Chinese interpreter with his bearers preceded me in his Sedan chair, and behind us were three or four other travellers like myself; all of us making quite an attractive procession. As we were being hurried along to the peculiar sing song chant of our bearers we caught up to a cavalcade in front, and they and we joining our forces made so imposing a procession and our bearers raised so loud a chant that I thought we were in the wake of some great Mandarin or perhaps of Yuan Shi Kai himself. As we proceeded the singing gained in volume and we were attracting a great deal of attention. But in a little while the head of the procession branched off, and on raising my curtain to catch a glimpse of the high dignitaries behold instead there was being carried in the usual manner a number of the biggest and blackest live hogs I ever saw in my life. Imagine my surprise and disenchantment at discovering the quality of the gentry which had been heading my procession through the streets.

What struck me most in China was what I saw of the conditions of the women and men; the unremitting and ceaseless toil of the Chinese peasant. There is not an inch of soil that is allowed to remain uncultivated. Everywhere you see these workers from the sides of hills down to the dead levels, and where they cannot get sufficient water for the purposes of vegetation, then the human carriers quench the thirst of the fields with water carried sometimes long distances in buckets, and so their crops are tided over the temporary drought, and the growth goes on. The farms run from one-half to three acres in extent. Rise at what time you may and you will see the fields covered with these incessant workers; and I never went to bed in the darkening twilight without seeing the fields yet filled with these patient toilers. Sunday, Monday, every day of their lives, and with no holidays. Once in a while they have a festival day in honour of their ancestors, but you can see them at all times at their ceaseless, hard, patient toil, all along the thousands of miles I traversed in China, and all this to get from the soil a scanty modicum of the food that nourisheth from day to day. You find, comparatively speaking, no cows or sheep, or horses. They have not the grazing spaces for them, and if they have a cow at all it is to be used as a beast of burden, not for milk or butter production. Its service is to do the rough ploughing, but most of the cultivation is done by means of a long handled hoe in the hands of the efficient husbandman himself. That is the kind of work that is going on in China. It is quite true that to-day its population of four hundred million people just about consumes the food output of China. What will happen when another one hundred million of people is added? Either there will be distress and starvation in the country or these added hordes will have to find homes and places elsewhere. When I was in Pekin I visited the new Chinese Assembly. One obtains entrance there pretty much as into the House of Commons here, and when there you look down on 500 or 600 representatives a little different from ours, but an assembly of intelligent men. When they first met it is said they all wore silk hats and frock coats, but the heats of summer had taught them wisdom, and when I was there they had gone back to their own flowing and more fitting robes. I saw just one cue. You know that when the revolutionary party came in cues went out, and the cue is now worn very little in southern China and only a little more as you go towards the north and northwest. I sat two and a half hours in that assembly. It was a work day for the Chinese Assembly. In that two and a half hours they put through a tremendous stroke of business. They impeached four members of the government by name, and to make sure that all had been gathered into the net they then made a general impeachment of the ministry as a whole, and all that was done with five speeches, and in the course of two and a half hours. The Chinese legislator shows the traits that make him akin to the Anglo-Saxon legislator in one respect. When the assembly was first called together the understanding was that its members were to draw one thousand Mexican dollars per annum as salary, but when the assembly had been in session some time they conceived a higher idea of what their work was worth, and accordingly passed a resolution that each member of the assembly should be allowed six thousand Mexican dollars per annum as his indemnity, and they all agreed that they would not work for less. The rules require three-quarters of the members of the assembly to be present for a quorum. After the first novelty wore off members were slack in attendance, and it was found difficult to get a quorum, and so they hit upon the plan of meeting every other day, but whether they will find it easier by this device to get a quorum I do not know. The provisional president, Yuan Shi Kai, seems to be the central figure in China at the present time. Things political have not gone very well since the proclamation of a Republic, and I must say that the opinions of the foreign embassies, and of the business classes, as far as I could gather, inclined to the conclusion that there is no help for China except in a strong hand, that the man pointed out as possessed of the needed strong hand was Yuan Shi Kai, and that unless he was able to dominate and control things would gradually crumble and disintegrate. China is not yet ready for republican institutions, and it would appear salvation is only possible under a monarchy or dictatorship. From Pekin I went north to Manchuria, down through Corea and into Japan, and I cannot attempt at this time to make a speech on such a fruitful subject as Japan. You, gentlemen, have all got your business to get back to, and so I will abruptly close my remarks. (Loud applause.)

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE WORLD

An Address delivered by HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND, of Washington, D.C., before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 28, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Toronto has a right to be proud of her great and honourable success as a commercial and manufacturing city, but it is not her business success of which she is most proud. It is not her financial resources which she likes best to exhibit, even in her remarkable annual exposition. Commercial resources and commercial success are necessary and desirable, indeed indispensable, for they are a part of the body of the city. The "practical poets" who bring such things to pass, often building better than they know, must be men of imagination, and even of ideals. But the spirit of Toronto is in even greater institutions—such as the church and its son, the Young Men's Christian Association; the hospital, said to be the best on the continent; the schools and public library, the play grounds, the great University maintained by the Province and also maintaining the Province and helping to maintain the Dominion. These are the things to which you all point the visitor's eye with just pride. It is symbolic that at the centre of the University grounds stands the Parliament House of the Province on land which the University leases to the State that in turn ministers to the University.

In such a city representing the very best of the Dominion of Canada, looking to the future already within its grasp and especially before the Empire Club of Canada, which stands for a great idea, no apology is needed for speaking of the ideal. As a lawyer, as a member of the newly formed American Judicature Society for the Improvement of Legal Procedure in the

United States, whose first tract is a description of the modern and efficient system of judicature of Ontario, represented here to-day by judges who have helped to make it what it is, the present speaker, who sincerely trusts that Ontario's example may be followed by the United States, which is so far behind in this respect except for the recent adoption of new equity rules for the federal judiciary by the Supreme Court of the United States, feels that it is particularly appropriate to speak for the ideal of international judicature in this capital of Ontario.

"The Supreme Court of the World," as I like to call it, is no longer simply an ideal or even an idea. Long the dream of poets and philosophers, it is now the plan of statesmen. The nations of the world have adopted it in principle and indeed in detail. As the first Hague Conference of Nations in 1899 became famous for its provisions for international arbitration, so the second Hague Conference in 1907 became famous for the adoption of a plan for such a court under the somewhat misleading title of "International Court of Arbitral Justice" as well as the creation of the "International Prize Court," both awaiting the slow process of diplomacy for their actual establishment. It is hoped that by 1915, when the next Hague Conference of the Nations is due, the great powers will have started in actual operation the Supreme Court of the World, even if it be at first only for a limited number of nations. It is equally to be hoped that the International Prize Court, as it would not operate until after maritime warfare, may not operate for many years to come. Not only lawyers but all thinking men and women should exert their influence to secure at the earliest possible day the adoption of the Hague Conference project for a Supreme Court of the World. The honourable part which the British Empire and the United States Republic have had in both Hague Conferences, and particularly their efforts for provision for the arbitration tribunals and the proposed International Court of Arbitral Justice, has given their citizens a special reason for great and continuing activity in directing and informing public opinion to that end. With all that has been said and published officially and unofficially by our governments and by private societies, as, for example, the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, formed for the specific purpose of advancing the cause of the proposed Supreme Court of the World, even such men as I see before me as a rule know very little about the matter, and if this is so, how little must those of less intelligence and opportunity know! Every one of you is a radiating centre of knowledge to less fortunate men and your combined influence can inform all Toronto; yes, all Ontario; yes, all the Dominion. Through your newspapers, your personal intercourse, you can spread information of what has been done and what is to be done in this which is the common cause of intelligence and righteousness everywhere.

The second Hague Conference, composed of the delegates of forty-four nations, realized that the time had come to take the next step forward in the settlement of international disputes. As in the history of Rome, self-redress was succeeded by arbitration and arbitration by courts of justice, and as similar processes have occurred in many nations, so in international life that succession appears to be taking place before our eyes. War, the self-redress of nations, has certainly been reduced, although it has not been superseded by arbitration. Self-redress among nations may never go completely. It has never gone completely from within the most civilized nations. Self-redress is still to be found in the alley slums of the city of Washington and in the backwoods districts of some of our states, and I imagine in similar places of the Dominion of Canada side by side with the most modern courts.

Self-redress by nations is no longer avowed as the best means of settling disputes. I think it safe to say that no nation in the world would now make that avowal. This seems to us such a commonplace that we can hardly realize that within a century it would have been avowed by responsible public men, in some at least of the so-called civilized nations of the world, as the best means of settling such disputes.

Arbitration, too, provided for in the municipal laws of progressive countries, will still remain and will still be very useful, although within a nation or a city most of us prefer to go to the courts for settlement of our disputes if we cannot settle them amicably by conciliation and compromise, rather than to resort to the official or unofficial arbitration tribunals to which we can go if we desire. But I think that, upon study and reflection, we must all agree with the Hague Conference of 1907 that the nations are logically at the door of the next chapter of international development away from self-redress, a chapter that calls for the court of justice as we all understand it, rather than a mere arbitration tribunal. The plan of that conference gives us the thing, although the name contained the word "arbitral" probably as a concession to some delegates who were not ready to call it what it really is—"A Supreme Court of the World."

At the annual conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, in December, 1912, its president, Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, said:

"To declare war is never regarded in our times as a sovereign right unless it be for the purpose of redressing some wrong. It is a mere means of obtaining justice. Looking at law as divided between what is substantive and what is remedial or adjective, war belongs to the adjective part. It is a mode of remedy.

"Courts of justice find their place in the same category. They are remedial institutions. The real question which this Society wishes to agitate is whether they do not furnish the best remedy for settling all disputes. That they offer the best in case of disputes between private individuals, all agree. Is there any sound reason for denying that they furnish the best in case of most disputes between nations?

"We need not and do not contend that they are adequate to deal with all emergencies. The private individual, if wrongfully attacked, may meet physical force by physical force. His right of self-defense is a settled part of the adjective law. It is so with a nation. But most wars are of an aggressive character. They are waged in anticipation of the use of hostile force. They presuppose the existence of a reason for resort to arms, and a reason of a kind recognized as sufficient by the rules of law. In applying any of those rules we assume that it is one generally regarded as established, and established as a form of law. It is relied on as one of a certain body of laws recognized by independent states as part of the laws that govern them. They are part of the laws of each, because each has so willed. International law is part of the national law of every civilized nation, so far as that is not inconsistent with it.

"One object to be striven for by this Society is the removal of any such inconsistencies where they exist. A nation is necessarily independent in its relations to other nations. But it is equally true that between all nations there is a certain interdependence. The principle of independence in any nation can only be kept in harmony with the principle of interdependence by the endeavour to avoid conflict between local laws and the laws of nations. Local laws are changed easily; the laws of nations slowly. Our efforts, therefore, should be directed toward such modifications of the internal legislation of each of the civilized powers as may serve to reconcile it with the legislation of the world. I say the legislation of the world; for a law of the world has not been made—could not have been made—without a process which may fairly be called legislation. What any one people generally agree on and practise becomes a law of their making, and so what all peoples generally agree on and practise becomes a law for all peoples of their making."*

James Brown Scott, in the introduction to the Proceedings of the 1912 Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, thus indicates the principal advantages of a truly permanent court composed of judges:

"Parties in controversy are not in the frame of mind to create a tribunal, whereas, if the tribunal existed, they might be willing to submit the case to its decision. Those who have had experience in such matters know that it is hard to agree upon judges, yet that nations are unwilling to submit their disputes to a tribunal whose constitution is unknown. Delays thus occur, whereas the case should be decided promptly and removed from the field of international controversy. Again, judges chosen for a particular purpose are supposed to be friendly to the appointing powers, otherwise they would not have been selected; and international awards often betray traces of compromise. Again, a temporary tribunal does not bind another different temporary tribunal any more than it is bound by its predecessor, if it can be considered to have a predecessor. The decision is not likely to be a precedent, as would inevitably be the case if it were decided by a permanent tribunal composed of the same judges passing upon a like question.

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* Proceedings, 1912, p. 13.

"It is common knowledge that international law is not developed by the awards of temporary tribunals. The advantage, in fact the need, of an authoritative interpretation of international treaties or agreements requires neither elaborate statement nor argument, and it is obvious that the decisions of a permanent international court constituted by the parties to such treaties or agreements would bind all of the contracting parties forming the judicial union, just as the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States bind the members of the American Union. Finally, the temporary tribunal is costly in comparison with a permanent court."*

In connection with the negotiations for a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, Lord Salisbury, writing to Sir Julian Pauncefote in March, 1896, in reference to the class of cases in which differences might arise involving issues which concerned the State itself, considered as a whole, said:

"If the matter in controversy is important, so that defeat is a serious blow to the credit or the power of the litigant who is worsted, that interest becomes a

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*** Introduction, pp. xx, xxi.**

more or less keen partisanship. According to their sympathies, men wish for the victory of one side or another.

"Such conflicting sympathies interfere most formidably with the choice of an impartial arbitrator. It would be too invidious to specify the various forms of bias by which, in any important controversy between two great powers, the other members of the commonwealth of nations are visibly affected. In the existing condition of international sentiment, each great power could point to nations whose admission to any jury by whom its interests were to be tried it would be bound to challenge; and in a litigation between two great powers the rival challenges would pretty well exhaust the catalogue of the nations from whom competent and suitable arbiters could be drawn." (Moore, International Arbitrations, Vol. 1, p. 964.)

The Supreme Court of the United States, the first real court deciding controversies between states, furnishes the evident analogy and illustration for the proposed court of the states of the world, coming as it did after, first self-redress as between the original states, then a process of arbitration provided for by the Articles of Confederation, and finally our great court, the greatest invention of our Constitution, unique not only as a tribunal of states, but as clothed with the power to say in concrete cases whether legislation is void because of repugnance to the Constitution of the United States. The United States was defined by the late Justice Brown of our Supreme Court in his address at the first Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, in Washington, December, 1910, as "A congeries of independent and autonomous states with full rights of sovereignty except so far as each has delegated to the general government certain powers essential to a unified existence." So that the analogy between the Supreme Court sitting as an international tribunal vested with the entire judicial power of the nation and applying federal law, state law and international law as the case may demand, thus settling controversies which between independent nations lead to war, furnishes a constant picture of what the Supreme Court of the World may be.

Attorney-General Wickersham, at the 1912 Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, said:

"In the appendix to the centennial volume of reports of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States (131 U. S.) is given a history of the disputes between states which were brought before the Congress for adjustment under this provision. Only one of them—that between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting lands in the Susquehanna Valley—came actually to trial. The petition in that case was filed with Congress November 3, 1781; on July 16, 1782, Congress ordered both parties to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question, agreeably to the ninth article of the Confederation; on August 12, 1782, the agents of both states filed an agreement as to the persons who should constitute the court. This court convened at Trenton, New Jersey, November 12, 1782; the hearing proceeded; and on December 30, 1782, it rendered the following judgment:

" 'We are unanimously of the opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy.

" 'We are also unanimously of the opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania and now claimed by the State of Connecticut do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania.' "*

Just as New York and bordering New England States, just as Pennsylvania and Connecticut, were actually at war in self-redress, just as subsequently interstate differences in eight cases were brought before the Arbitration Court of the period of the Confederation although only one came to trial, and yet all were settled, so the independent nations which have been going to war have begun to go to arbitration for the settlement of their differences.

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* Proceedings, p. 21.

As the progress of thought brought about the present method of settling disputes between the forty-eight states of the Union by the Supreme Court, so we may expect a similar court settling disputes between the forty-four nations represented at the last Hague Conference. Naturally in the three conferences of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes the analogy has been used as the basis for hope.

At the first conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, December, 1910, Mr. Justice William Renwick Riddell of the high court of Ontario, the first member of that society, and who sits at this hospitable board to-day, in an address full of instruction and inspiration on the subject which we are considering, gave among other admirable illustrations from Canadian history the following instance of a judicial settlement of a controversy between two of your provinces which were at the point of war:

"In 1876 the Dominion of Canada by statute (39 Vic. C. 21) set apart and formed a new territory, Keewatin, beginning at the western boundary of Ontario and extending west to the eastern boundary of Manitoba, and placed this new territory under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Manitoba. Unfortunately, the westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario was a matter of dispute, the Dominion claiming that the line was much further east than the province put it. At once there arose a dispute between the Province of Manitoba and the Province of Ontario; and actually each province, Ontario and Manitoba, had an armed force in the disputed territory, and it looked as though two armies, each commanded by officers bearing the patent and warrant of the same queen, would come to open war in that territory. Better counsels prevailed, however. Arbitration failed, and it was ultimately left to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the highest court of appeal in the British Empire. That is an instance of a British court dealing with a matter of territory."*

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* Proceedings, 1910, p. 36.

It should be said at once that the advocates of the judicial settlement of the differences of nations are not reflecting upon the process of arbitration. On the contrary, they are and have been among its best friends. But they see what the Hague Conference of 1907 saw so clearly—that while arbitration is good, judicial settlement is better. Arbitration implies negotiation and diplomacy, bargaining and compromise, not clear-cut decision in favour of one or the other of the litigants, no matter how impartial the arbitration may be. Each arbitration is isolated. It makes no binding precedent.

Theodore Marburg said: "Such a court [as that proposed], dealing with various systems of law, would perhaps not build up the law as readily as a court governed by the principles of the English Common Law exclusively; but while in theory Roman law courts are not governed by previous decisions, they do in point of fact constantly yield to precedent. In contrast to the body of judge-made law which arises wherever true courts of justice exist is the barrenness of the arbitration tribunal as a source of law."

It makes little contribution to international law, which is still only a body of principles to which general assent is given by civilized nations, but which are only in part embodied in the judicial decisions and opinions of any nation and which are not codified or even adopted formally by the nations. The chief service of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace thus far has been its endeavour to bring about a better knowledge of international law, a better understanding between experts of civilized countries as to what shall be considered as international law, and improvement of that law by every means that governments, universities, specialists and courts may possess. It has made it possible to begin at The Hague next June, in the building given by Mr. Andrew Carnegie called the "Palace of Peace," but which might better be called the "Palace of Justice," the first international school of international law to which the expert teachers and ambitious students of international law from all countries will be invited, and where the universities will be represented by their best men in that great field of knowledge. The executive secretary, Dr. James Brown Scott, who as legal adviser to the State Department under Secretary Root and as delegate to the Hague Conference in 1907 had such a large part in securing the adoption of the plan for an International Court of Arbitral Justice, has, also, as editor of the Journal of the American Society of International Law, the first of its kind in the United States, done much to unify and improve the body of international law, and that particular work is soon to be supplemented by a Spanish edition of that journal to be circulated in the twenty republics south of the United States under the hearty co-operation of international lawyers numbering many eminent authorities of those countries. Dr. Scott, as an organizer of the American Society of International Law and of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, has unofficially as well as officially done more than any other one man to advance the cause of judicial settlements of international disputes.

Theodore Marburg, in summarizing the sentiments expressed at the first Washington Conference (1910) of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, said (Bulletin of the Society, August 5, 1911):

"The fundamental requisites for a permanent successful court were indicated as, first, that its procedure be expeditious and the rights of contending parties be guaranteed; second, that the constituents of which it is composed be respected by all civilized nations; and lastly, that the principles it is called upon to apply be clear and such as shall have merited universal approval.

"The latter need, the need of searching out the fundamental principles of international law and justice, of formulating them and of having them adopted by the civilized nations, must be considered not only with reference to the proposed court, but with reference likewise to the general good relations of the world. The lack of authoritative international law which shall be binding upon the nations and their citizens, as municipal law is binding upon the individual, constitutes one of the main hindrances to all-inclusive treaties of arbitration. The new Carnegie Endowment for Peace was urged to initiate this work.

"Although the scantiness of such authoritative international law is clearly recognized, it is presumed that the nations will none the less boldly empower the proposed international court to fall back upon the wisdom of its day and declare as law what it finds to be the just practice of men. Just as the ancient tribe, in the absence of written codes, relied upon its judge to declare the law, so the great tribes of the world will set up a body of judges who shall say: 'There is no code, but this is the wisdom and the justice of the human society to which we belong.' In much the same way the Supreme Court of the United States has proceeded to interpret and apply international law.

"For this purpose, where there is no treaty and no controlling executive or legislative act or judicial decision, say the court itself, resort must be had to the customs and usages of civilized nations, and as an evidence of this, to the works of jurists and commentators who by years of labour, research and experience have made themselves peculiarly well acquainted with the subjects which they treat. Such works are resorted to by judicial tribunals, not for the speculation of their authors as to what the law ought to be, but for trustworthy evidence of what the law really is. (In re. Paquet Habana, 175 U. S. 677.)

"By reason of the growth of judge-made law, supplemented by codification, authoritative international law will be developed at a pace hitherto unprecedented, making text books obsolete at short intervals. Just as the practical inventions have made more progress in the past century than in the whole previous period of recorded history, so definite international law, in the true acceptance of the term, is likely to show greater development in the near future, following the establishment of an international court of justice, than in the whole past."

Professor Eugene Wambaugh, of Harvard University Law School, has well described the gradual process of law-making by the courts when he said:

"The forces are, as has been said, the effort of the court itself to create a science, the publication of judicial opinions, and the existence of a body of expert counsellors. Much of this course of thought has been condensed into a few sentences in a comment upon English court practice by a master of statesmanship, Edmund Burke. Long ago he wrote:

" 'Your committee do not find any positive law which binds the judges . . . to give a reasoned opinion from the bench in support of their judgment. . . . But the course hath prevailed from the oldest times. . . . The judges, in their reasonings, have always been used to observe on the arguments employed by the counsel on either side, and on the authorities cited by them. . . . The English jurisprudence has not any other sure foundation, nor, consequently, the lives and properties of the subjects any sure hold, but in the maxims, rules and principles, and traditionary line of decisions contained in the notes taken, and from time to time published, (mostly under the sanction of the judges), called 'Reports.' . . . . With us doctrinal books . . . have little or no authority, other than as they are supported by the adjudged cases and reasons given at one time or other from the bench; and to these they constantly refer. . . . To give judgment privately is to put an end to reports; and to put an end to reports is to put an end to the law of England. . . . Nothing better could be devised by human wisdom than argued judgments, publicly delivered, for preserving unbroken the great traditionary body of the law, and for marking, whilst that great body remained unaltered, every variation in the application and the construction of particular parts.'

"Here the question may well be asked whether on the continent of Europe, and in other countries using systems descending from the Roman Law, there is not a view rejecting decisions as creators or even demonstrators of law, and whether in consequence it must not happen that the decisions of international courts will not be recognized as authoritative sources of legal doctrine. To such a question two answers can be given.

One is that in the nature of things the force of judicial decisions must be great, for the reasons alreadv pointed out. The other answer is that, whatever the theory of continental and other jurists may be, their actual practice as to this matter is substantially the same as the practice of the lawyers of England and America. The libraries of lawyers in Roman Law countries are crowded with reports of adjudged cases, and these volumes are referred to by lawyers and judges there in much the same way as similar volumes are used in England and America. It is of little practical consequence that in Roman Law countries the theory is that each case is decided upon the basis of the court's new and untrammeled opinion as to the rights of the parties, and not at all upon the basis of a doctrine that the earlier opinions of other courts, or at least of this very court, should now be followed, whereas in England and America and other Common Law countries the theory —briefly called *stare decisis*—is that past decisions are authoritative. The result is the same, and always must be the same, namely, that the reasoned decisions of skilled courts command respect, win approval and develop law."*

Mr. Justice Riddell, commenting upon the above statement of Professor Wambaugh, said:

"The theory of the Roman Law that it is not the judge who lays down the law at all is the theory of a great many countries whose law has been derived from the Roman Law; amongst those countries is one with which I am well acquainted—the Province of Quebec.

"The laws of that province are based on the old French law, which in turn is based upon the ancient law, and it is the theory there that a judge ought to decide a case irrespective of the manner in which the other judges have decided similar cases, decide the case upon his own view of what is just and right. In our Supreme Court of Canada that law, the French-Canadian law, is being investigated, I may say, every day. I have myself argued cases in the Province of Quebec, and while the judges invariably protest that they are not bound by authorities, they are in reality and in fact as much bound by authorities as the judges in the Province of Ontario."*

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* Proceedings, 1910, p. 143.

We may add this interesting suggestion made by Hon. A. J. Montague, of Virginia:

"The arbitral court should find profound encouragement in the success with which the Supreme Court has administered various systems of jurisprudence. The common law and the chancery systems of England, with the material statutory changes or modifications obtaining in the several states, and the Roman Law, together with the modifications wrought in that system by Spain, France and Louisiana, have all been considered and administered from time to time by our court with facility and success. These several systems have not been incompatible with the form of procedure employed by the Supreme Court. Indeed, through the operation of our supreme judicial crucible these differing laws have come to wear a strong and sure likeness which would seem to presage that more homogeneous jurisprudence be evolved by the arbitral court into a soldered system of international equity."†

Arbitration does not even in theory require jurists as arbitrators. The panel of one hundred possible members provided by the Hague Conference of 1899 from which to draw members of arbitration tribunals are chiefly not judges or even lawyers, but publicists, professors or diplomats. Arbitration has no code of procedure. It is hoped that the next Hague Conference will provide in some way for the adoption of a code of procedure for arbitral tribunals; for actual experience has shown crying need for it. Arbitration does not have to respect precedents and is not under any binding law. It, of course, provides for no permanent court and for no permanent bar of international lawyers with ethical rules of practice and with accumulating experience not to be found in books which is so invaluable not only to the lawyers but to the courts of which they are officers. As a matter of fact, members of the panel of one hundred of the Hague arbitration tribunal can and do practise before particular arbitration tribunals of which they do not happen to be members—a confusing custom which ought to be limited or abolished. Moreover, nationals of the contestants sit on an arbitration tribunal, a practice which ought to be abolished; and only less objectionable is the practice of selecting nationals of countries which are not only friendly but partisan towards contestants. The inner history of preparations for an arbitration is full of what has been called by some of the participants "jockeying" over the selection of arbitrators, each of the contestants vying with the other to get some advantage or supposed advantage by the choice of particular individuals or the representatives of a particular nation, rather than the ablest and most impartial judge. There is, therefore, a great uncertainty as to how the judges may in any particular case arbitrate, and also how they may be swayed. Naturally, nations are wary of such uncertain tribunals with such diplomatic methods and such compromising decisions, their members unknown when the agreement to submit to arbitration is made. It seems marvellous that over two hundred and fifty arbitrations have been held by civilized nations during the last century and that their decisions have been invariably respected. It is to the honour of these nations that this has been the case, and it is most encouraging for the future of the judicial settlement movement. Great Britain and the United States lead in the Jay treaty, the first which expressly provided for settlement by arbitration, but all of the nations are entitled to credit for their contributions to this cause. Long before the first Hague Conference, notably in the great arbitration at Geneva between Great Britain and the United States, the great value of arbitration in preventing war was so well established as to make it possible for that conference to adopt that method which with its provision for conciliation and mediation, including the exercise of good offices and formal inquiry into controversies, has undoubtedly averted war repeatedly in the last decade. One has only to mention the Dogger Bank incident of 1904 peacefully settled, although as warlike as any incident in history, or the Casablanca affair of 1909, involving so-called questions of national honour, peacefully settled although at the point of war, to remind intelligent persons of the practical worth of arbitration. Moreover, it is probable that there will never be a time when processes of inquiry including the involuntary inquiry proposed by the present Secretary of State of the United States, conciliation and the exercise of good offices by neutrals, and formal arbitration itself will not be valuable to the whole world. But there is a more excellent way. A court of real judges, jurists by profession, permanent in their offices, independent in their income, which should be larger than that suggested by the Hague conference, devoting themselves entirely to one duty—making and respecting precedents, deciding according to the right of the matter with a settled code of procedure and permanent bar of lawyers—is far superior as a resort for nations desiring to avert war by orderly justice. Not only the English-speaking peoples, but all civilized nations, whatever their municipal laws and political practices, said at the Hague Conference of 1907 that they regarded it as affording the best means of adjudication of their respective rights in any given case. The practice of arbitration, involving a cooling time for reflection, a judicial consideration of the actual merits after the blindness of passion has passed and an experience of the weight of the public opinion of the world, undoubtedly helped to bring about the forward step taken in 1907. In view of the example of the Supreme Court of the United States, in view of similar but less definite and more temporary tribunals administering justice between states, but especially under the changed state of mind of the civilized world, it was natural that the delegates of the forty-four nations to The Hague in that year should adopt the project for the International Court of Arbitral Justice.

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* Proceedings, 1910, p. 149.

† Proceedings, 1910, p. 217.

Judge Henry Wade Rogers has thus analyzed the organic act of the Hague Conference, saying that its provisions, "contained in thirty-five articles, show that what it proposed is a permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, composed of judges who are to decide causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. In this respect it differs from the so-called court created by the first Conference. That court is not abrogated by the new court, but is continued in existence. The court of 1899 is a court only in name. It provides an arrangement for the selection of referees for each particular case, never consisting of the same persons. The court of 1907 is a real court composed of judges learned in the law.

"Article I provides that the court shall be 'composed of judges representing the various judicial systems of the world, and capable of ensuring continuity in jurisprudence of arbitration.' And Article II provides 'The Judicial Arbitration Court is composed of judges and deputy judges chosen from persons of the highest moral reputation, and all fulfilling conditions qualifying them in their respective countries to occupy high legal posts, or be jurists of recognized competence in matters of international law.' The judges are to be appointed for a term of twelve years. They are to be equal in rank, and are to enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities in the exercise of their functions outside their own country. They are to receive an annual salary of 6,000 Netherland florins (approximately $2,400). In the exercise of their duties during the session of the court, they receive in addition the sum of 100 florins per diem (approximately $40 a day). They are further entitled to receive a travelling allowance fixed in accordance with regulations existing in their own country. They cannot accept from their own government or from that of any other power any remuneration for services connected with their duties in their capacity of members of the court. The general expenses of the court, including the salaries of the judges, are to be paid through the international bureau, and are to be borne by the contracting powers. A judge is forbidden to exercise his judicial functions in any case in which he has in any way taken part. Article VII provides 'A judge may not exercise his judicial functions in any case in which he has in any way whatever taken part in the decision of a national tribunal, of a tribunal of arbitration, or of a commission of inquiry, or has figured in the suit as counsel or advocate for one of the parties. A judge cannot act as agent or advocate before the Judicial Arbitration Court or the Permanent Court of Arbitration, before a special tribunal of arbitration, or a commission of inquiry, nor act for one of the parties in any capacity whatsoever, so long as his appointment lasts.' The seat of the court is established at The Hague, 'and cannot be transferred,' so reads Article XI, 'unless absolutely obliged by circumstances, elsewhere.' The delegation may choose, with the assent of the parties concerned, another site for its meetings, if special circumstances render such a step necessary. The court is to meet in session once a year. The session is to open the third Wednesday in June and to last until all the business on the agenda has been transacted. Provision is made by which the court may be summoned in extraordinary session and by which it need not meet in annual session if such meeting is necessary, there being no business to come before it.

"The organic act as drawn by the Conference provides concerning procedure in Article XXII that 'The Judicial Court of Arbitration follows the rules of procedure laid down in the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, except in so far as the procedure is laid down in the present convention,' and in Article XXXII that 'The court itself draws up its own rules of procedure, which must be communicated to the contracting powers.' In Article XXIII it is provided that 'The court determines what language it will itself use, and what language may be used before it.' In Article XXV it is declared that 'For all notices to be served, in particular on the parties, witnesses or experts, the court may apply direct to the government of the state on whose territory the service is to be carried out. The same rule applies in the case of steps being taken to procure evidence. The requests addressed for this purpose can only be rejected when the power applied to considers them likely to impair its sovereign rights or its safety. If the request is complied with, the fees charged must only comprise the expenses actually incurred. The court is equally entitled to act through the power on whose territory it sits.' The articles also provide that decisions are to be arrived at by a majority of the judges present and that the judgment of the court must give the reasons on which it is based. It must contain the names of the judges taking part in it and be signed by the president and registrar. Each party pays its own costs and an equal share of the costs of the trial. The organic act has been most carefully drafted and contains the essential provisions which should be embodied in such a law."*

Why, you ask, has it not been set up in the five years since? Because it is natural that the delegates at The Hague were not able to agree upon the number of judges, an indispensable prerequisite, but to this day without a satisfactory decision, although there are signs that one is at hand. Obviously each of the nations at The Hague could not be represented on the supreme bench; a court of forty-four judges sitting together would be impracticable. Obviously the smaller nations, not only on the theory of equality between independent nations, but out of manifest self-interest, would at first at least insist upon equal representation with the larger nations.

The United States, on accepting the invitation of Russia to the first Hague Conference of 1899, instructed its delegates to endeavour "to concentrate the attention of the world upon a definite plan for the promotion of international justice by the establishment of an international court."

With this view, the plan suggested to them by the President was "to advocate a treaty setting up an international tribunal," . . . . "of a permanent character," which should "be composed of judges chosen on account of their personal integrity and learning in international law." These judges were to comprise one from each power, named by a majority of the members of its highest court.

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* Proceedings American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1912, p. 129.

Commenting upon this the first proposition for the establishment of an international court, Governor Simeon E. Baldwin said:

"Such a body as was thus proposed by the United States, governed by the principles of justice and right described by Russia, would have been something much greater than a tribunal of arbitration.

"It would have proceeded upon certain principles of justice previously recognized by the constituent powers and rules of international law which courts throughout the world are accustomed to enforce within the limits of their jurisdiction.

"The first Hague Conference was not ready for so great a step. It was perhaps not large enough to warrant it. Confined to the powers represented at the court of St. Petersburg, it could at most assume to speak for but half the world. The second Hague Conference, being open to all nations and attended by almost all, spoke with a broader authority. It contained in its membership representatives of substantially all those who would or might be parties to proceedings before an international court. Naturally, when it came to the adoption of a definite scheme for one, there broke out the feeling on the part of the smaller powers that their sovereign equality must be guarded at all points; and on the part of the great powers, that their preponderance in numbers and importance must be reflected in the composition of any world judiciary. The American plan of taking a judge from each power could be reasonably pressed at the first Conference, to which only the stronger nations were parties. It could not be at the second, where the stronger and the weaker were all assembled, each with an equal vote."*

It is this question of the actual number of the court which alone has prevented its establishment. The Hague Conference delegates not being able to settle it referred it to their respective governments for determination by diplomatic negotiations between the countries.

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* Proceedings American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1913, p. 3.

Judge Henry Wade Rogers, speaking of the selection of judges, said that Mr. Joseph H. Choate, addressing the Hague Conference in 1907, submitted ten different propositions, and urged with all the earnestness of which he was capable the adoption of some one of them, even though it should be accepted simply as a provisional scheme. One proposal was for a court of seventeen judges, and that eight of the larger nations having a more numerous population and larger commercial and industrial interests, and therefore confronted with more frequent controversies, should have a constant representation in the court, while the smaller nations were each to have representation for a longer or shorter period by a system of rotation. Another proposal was for the Conference to determine by vote a definite number of nations who should each be authorized to appoint a judge for the full term of the court. Still another proposal was that the Conference should elect a prescribed number of judges, each nation having an equal voice and casting one vote. The last of his proposals was that each signatory power should propose a judge and an assistant and that the list thus made should be submitted to each signatory power and that every power voting at the same time should choose from this list, each nation voting for fifteen judges and fifteen assistants, and the fifteen judges and the fifteen assistants who receive the greatest number of votes should be declared elected.

M. de Martens submitted a plan, which was that each country designate an elector taken from the list of members of the Permanent Court, and that these forty-five electors should in their turn choose fifteen judges, who should constitute the court.

Mr. Choate was ready to adopt any one of the ten plans, but the Conference could agree upon none of them. Article XV, respecting the Prize Court, is as follows:

"The judges appointed by the following contracting powers: Germany, the United States of America, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia, are always summoned to sit. The judges and deputy judges appointed by the other contracting powers sit by rota as shown in the table annexed to the present convention, and their duties may be performed successively by the same person. The same judge may be appointed by several of the said powers."

The law's delay, or rather the lawyers' delay, is proverbial, but it is no greater than diplomacy's delay unless there is some imperative necessity for immediate action. Difficulties that we know and difficulties that we do not know have delayed the settlement of this particular question.

Justice Brown of the Supreme Court well said: "Differences of religion and race make the problem of a high court before which all the nations shall on occasion yield their sovereignty much more difficult than was the problem of a Supreme Court for a group of states like the United States, bound by ties of a common language and common institutions," but that which offers the greatest obstacle is the conflicting interests of the nations, always more selfish than the best of their citizens.

Yet progress has been made, as we know, and here again Great Britain and the United States are entitled to honourable mention for their efforts. But all the great powers have in principle confirmed what their delegates did at the Hague Conference.

That the court can be set up by any number of the powers is evident from the official report of the American delegates to the Hague Conference of 1907, in which they say:

"It is evident that the foundations of a permanent court have been broadly and firmly laid; that the organization, jurisdiction and procedure have been drafted and recommended in the form of a code which the powers, or any number of them, may accept, and, by agreeing upon the appointment of judges, call into being a court at once permanent and international. A little time, a little patience, and the great work is accomplished."

There is reason to believe that the eight nations commonly called the Great Powers—Great Britain, the

United States, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Japan—may soon determine to set up the proposed court with perhaps nine judges (and it would be only courtesy to give Holland, the host country, at whose capital the court is to sit, the ninth judge), who would not necessarily be from nine different countries, but would be the elect of nine different countries, the greatest men who could be obtained to serve under an agreement to represent the nations in that court and in the expectation that the character and ability of the judges, the impartiality and wisdom of their decisions and the power of their opinions would draw the adherence gradually of the other nations to an agreement to let the court settle international disputes. The question of the number of the judges is not insoluble. Here again the United States can furnish an excellent illustration in the fact that the thirteen original states which so jealously preserved their political equality in the Senate during the making of the Constitution desired also to be equally represented in the Supreme Court, yet the Constitution provided not for thirteen judges nor for such representation. At first there were five judges, and the largest number has been nine.

It would be difficult to find a case in which the personality of the men first operating it would be more important to an institution. It is true that this world court, in this day of the close relationship of nations with instant communication by electricity, if set up by the Great Powers, would have great prestige from the first. It would not necessarily have limited jurisdiction in view of the declaration of the leading powers, including Great Britain and the United States, in favour of leaving to arbitration questions which were recently thought not to be arbitrable—even the difference between municipal laws of different countries and the fact that it is only the English-speaking peoples that have inherited the principles of the English Common Law and the distinction between what is called "law" and what is called "equity" would not necessarily limit it.

The possible limitations of the jurisdiction of the court are thus suggested by Governor Simeon E. Baldwin:

"1. It might be limited to the determination of the material facts, if what these facts are is a matter of controversy.

"2. It might extend to applying the proper rules of international law to facts thus settled, or to facts on which the powers appearing before it are agreed.

"3. It might be limited to declaring the rules of international law which, on the assumption of the existence of certain facts, control the determination of an international dispute, leaving the truth of that assumption to be thereafter determined in some other mode of proceeding.

"4. It might be limited to the construction of treaties of doubtful meaning."

James Brown Scott says: "The creation of such a court, however, presupposes the existence of general or specific treaties, for it would not—differing from national courts—automatically take jurisdiction of controversies submitted to it by one party. A general treaty of arbitration might provide for the submission to the court of controversies of a legal nature when and as they arose, or a special treaty or agreement might be negotiated to refer the controversy after it had arisen. In any event, the issues would have to be defined by agreement of the parties, and the court could only take jurisdiction upon request from both litigants. A general treaty creates a general obligation to make use of the court in the cases specified in the treaty, and the advantages of such an obligation do not need to be argued. A special treaty without an existing legal duty may be difficult to bring about, and therefore the general treaty is to be preferred. Again, nations may be unwilling to have the controversy decided by general principles of international law, owing to the doubt and uncertainty which exist as to many of those principles, and they might wish to agree upon certain principles to be applied in the special instance, as was the case with the three rules of Washington, framed by Great Britain and the United States for the determination of the Alabama claims. Another example may be cited, namely, the unwillingness of Great Britain to ratify the Prize

Court convention without an agreement in advance upon the law to be applied, as Great Britain was unwilling to allow the judges to prefer continental to English practice according to their pleasure, or to legislate, as is the wont of judges.

"The general arbitration treaty binds the nations to refer the case; the special treaty or special agreement submits the case and may, at one and the same time, in determining the issue, formulate the principles of law to be applied by the judges."

The powers which are most active in setting up the new court will be in honour bound to bring to it cases for decision as quickly as practicable, including some which might have to be taken out of dusty files, as was the case with those which were first brought to the Hague arbitration tribunals, notably that which the United States and Mexico submitted and which began the operations of the Hague arbitration tribunal.

But great judges make great courts. Nowhere is it more clearly apparent that man is the greatest thing in the world. The Supreme Court of the United States at first seemed almost negligible. It was difficult to get men to sit upon it. Chief Justices Jay and Ellsworth resigned because they thought they could be more useful in their states, since the court in this judgment could never amount to much, and two associate justices also resigned for similar reasons, while man after man declined appointment to that court. Fortunately Jay declined reappointment—fortunately, because John Marshall accepted the opportunity to serve in his stead. He was plainly the man for the opportunity. He made the court great in the confidence of the people and supreme by the force of his reasoning in masterly opinions which drew from the Constitution the powers that made the United States a nation. I like to go into the old Supreme Court room in the Capitol at Washington, under the present Supreme Court room, and look where Marshall sat and reflect that it was in that quiet little chamber, and not in the noisy, bustling world outside, that the United States was made what it is. True, we had in the Civil War the arbitrament of arms upon some of the questions that Marshall decided, but at the most the Civil War simply executed the opinions of our great Chief Justice. It settled forever the question of the supremacy of the court over the states and of the nation over its component parts. No state now would question the authority of a decision of the Supreme Court, and this not because of the army and navy at its back, but because of the will of the people, who are the nation and who would not tolerate disobedience to the mandates of the court. International public opinion, now that the nations sit as it were around one table and are far closer together in every way than the thirteen original States of the Union, may be trusted to support a world court worthy of such support as national public opinion supports our national court in its decrees. No international police force will be required. Social ostracism from the family of nations with all that it would involve would be the sufficient penalty, so sufficient that it would never have to be invoked against any of those who resorted to the court.

President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago, has suggested as an ultimate extreme position, involving jurisdiction over the question of the independence of a state, the following example: "If, for instance, a given nation should prove to be so unruly, and so anti-social and so injurious to international order that its existence ought no longer to be tolerated, the powers, acting together on the mandate of an international judicial tribunal rather than on the mandate or agreement of the foreign offices, might decree the extinction of the national life of the state in question, just as the criminal court within a state may decree the extinction of the life of a malefactor. It may easily be that such a case would never happen. At the same time it is conceivable; and should it occur, would it not rest on a far sounder basis than transactions which have occurred in the past, and which, whatever their justification in point of equity, after all, have had the appearance of simple international spoliation?"

Mr. Elihu Root, delivering in 1908 his president's address before the American Society of International

Law, in speaking of the official absence of sanction in international law, said that it was public opinion which gave the real sanction and that the most advanced nations, which were also the most powerful, well understand "that the laws established by civilization for the guidance of national conduct cannot be ignored with impunity." Mr. Root, in speaking of the absence of technical sanction, continued: "Nevertheless, all the foreign offices of the civilized world are continually discussing with each other questions of international law, both public and private, cheerfully and hopefully marshalling facts, furnishing evidence, presenting arguments and building up records designed to show that the rules of international law require such and such things to be done or such and such things to be left undone. And in countless cases nations are yielding to such arguments and shaping their conduct against their own apparent interests in the particular cases under discussion, in obedience to the rules which are shown to be applicable. Why is it that nations are thus continually yielding to arguments with no apparent compulsion behind them, and before the force of such arguments abandoning purposes, modifying conduct and giving redress for injuries? A careful consideration of this question seems to lead to the conclusion that the difference between municipal and international law, in respect of the existence of forces compelling obedience, is more apparent than real, and that there are sanctions for the enforcement of international law no less real and established than those which secure obedience to municipal law."

While it is true, as Lord Chancellor Haldane said to us at the Montreal meeting of the American Bar Association last month, that law is for exceptional individuals and exceptional cases, and that we are really governed by the *sittlichkeit,* the common thought of the family, the community, the state, the family of nations, as to what is right and proper, which is executed by the common will—while this is true, nevertheless courts are still necessary for the exceptional cases and the exceptional individuals. The *sittlichkeit* compels resort to courts and obedience to their decisions rather than resort to self-redress by duel or violence. Without a permanent judicial court there is no certain means of settling disputes between nations, and it is for this reason that the public opinion of the world ought to compel the establishment of a Supreme Court of the nations.

There is a significant sentence in the Hague Conference of 1907 for the regulation of the conduct of warfare. This regulation, said that Hague Conference, should be in accordance "with the laws of humanity and the requirements of the public conscience." For the first time an official world congress recognized "the public conscience" as making requirements upon the conduct of war. If it makes such requirements in time of war, how much more in time of peace to prevent war?

It is significant of the attitude of all the greatest modern soldiers that General U. S. Grant was one of the strongest advocates of the settlement of international disputes by judicial or semi-judicial means, and regarded it as one of his greatest glories that he brought about the settlement by arbitration of the disputes between this country and Great Britain, determined at Geneva. His views in a letter written to the Universal Peace Union at Philadelphia, December, 1879, contain a prophecy of that supreme court of the world which we are endeavouring to set up. In it he said:

"Although educated and brought up a soldier, and probably having been in as many battles as anyone else, certainly in as many as most people could have taken part in, yet there was never a time nor a day when it was not my desire that some just and fair way should be established for settling difficulties, instead of bringing innocent persons into conflict, and withdrawing from productive labour able-bodied men who, in a large majority of cases, have no particular interest in the subject over which they are contending. I look forward to a day when there will be courts established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations, and settle, by arbitration or decision of such courts, these questions."

At The Hague this fall was opened that remarkable building called the Palace of Peace, which might better be called, I think, the Palace of Justice, the gift of Mr. Carnegie, received by the Government of Holland in sacred trust, to be the home of such international tribunals of arbitration as may be convened from time to time under the resolution and the conventions following the first Hague Conference, and, we hope, of the Supreme Court of the World as a permanent judicial body. One other use is to be made of it which is not yet extensively known: through the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, which has its headquarters in Washington, an international academy of international law is to be established, beginning next June for the summer months of each year, to meet in that building, to which the leading professors of international law of the world will come, to which the leading Universities will send their best men, as students or professors, and where there may be an interchange of thought between the experts and scholars—and even if there shall be no scholars—which shall powerfully promote the cause of international law, the ultimate adjustment of it, the codification of such parts as can be codified, the agreement between nations as to what shall be respected as the permanent principles of international law. That in itself is a great thing, but let us all hope that we may live to see as the chief honour of that building, as the chief opportunity that it offers to the whole world, the Supreme Court of the World. (Applause.)

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE

An Address by Hon. Sir Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, before the Empire Club, Toronto, October 31, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

When you asked me to say what subject I would select for my address to your Club, I answered offhand, without a moment's hesitancy, Canada and the Empire. You have the reputation of being one of the heart centres of Empire, and it struck me at the time that perhaps nothing would appeal so readily to you as a few western words on a theme of this kind. This is a rather interesting period in the life of the Dominion of Canada, I shall not say a critical one. We are emerging from the status of youth, and quickly taking on ourselves that of the full grown man. In the life of an individual this is always a time of trial, a period that needs courage, and so it is to-day with the Dominion of Canada. It is a time of trial for the people of the Dominion, and it is a season when in man-fashion they must assemble all the courage that they are equal to, because presently, from self-respect alone, we ought to take on the full responsibility of national manhood. (Applause.) Now, the question is, in what fashion may this best be done? I give you the answer as I read the Canadian people, by closer co-operation with the British Empire. (Applause.) In all the years that bring us down to date what we have we must credit principally, if not entirely, to the connection which we have enjoyed with the Mother Country, and if up to this state of affairs we have been brought along so well, surely there is every warrant that the future by the selfsame contact will promise us still better, still greater things. It would be idle for me to argue with you in a commercial sense, what good business it must be to continue on Canada's part more closely the connection to which I have referred. You know yourselves that if there is material prosperity in Canada to-day, it is largely due to the contact that we have with the great money markets of London, the Empire centre. I was struck most forcibly recently while spending a few weeks in London with an experience that I met, not daily but hourly, especially in the great business part, the money centre of that world's metropolis, and it was this, that you met Canadians right and left coming and going, all looking for money, and I said as I here and there met a man who was very indifferent on the Imperial question but keen on the dollar, what kind of a heart must that man have who is here looking to the treasure house of old Threadneedle Street for means whereby to help on Canadian development, yet who would hesitate at this time in our Empire's life to come up with his individual share of Empire responsibility? (Applause.) It is logical that if we have to go to London for the means, it must be because the wealth is there; if the wealth is there, it must be because the Empire is strong and powerful, and able to protect wealth. And at the present day it would appear to require in the way of protection efficient naval defence. The sequence must be that if we propose to continue to go to London for our financial aid, that treasure house must continue to be protected, and that protection unquestionably involves an efficient navy. (Applause.) Now, there is the position from a clean-cut, cold-blooded, commercial viewpoint. That may open the hearts of some Canadians—I hope to Providence there are very few of them who must be appealed to on a ground of that kind. (Hear, hear.) In a crisis of the sort—well, hardly a crisis, but an interesting period of the sort through which Canada and the Empire is passing. I have given you the facts, the conditions are as I depict them, and who can question the fairness of the logic that I have offered? But let me appeal to you, my brother Canadians, that we owe it to ourselves, to those who have gone before us to approach this theme upon higher, upon nobler grounds. (Hear, hear.) There is a sentiment about it that in itself ought to sufficiently appeal to every one of us at this time, to stand up in this our manhood with a full and generous heart, keeping close by the Mother Country, and give to her, if it be possible, even more in the way of succor and help than she may have asked. And this leads at once to the consideration of the naval question. I read in this morning's paper that the naval question had been settled in a constituency down here where some bye-election has been held. Now, I do not wish to be controversial at all, but I think it is an offence to the good sense of the people of the Province of Ontario that any suggestion of that sort could be offered for one single moment. Sometimes I am constrained to the conclusion that we in Canada are inclined to put politics before the country, that we seem to think that the welfare of a political party in the Dominion is of first importance, the well-being of the state next. To my mind it is a most unfortunate thing that the question of naval defence has found its way into the zone of political controversy—(hear, hear)—and yet it may have been that there was no other course. If you are about to build a navy, and the records of the Mother Land be of any service—and they ought to be, because there is to be found the best navy in the world—will you not agree with this conclusion that naval experts, tried and experienced sailors are the men to work out the appropriate plan of navy building, and not the council board of a political cabinet? (Hear, hear.) If you come so far with me you must take the next step and agree that any attempt of a political cabinet to frame and settle upon a naval policy is the crudest possible sort of experimentation. I will say not one word to offend a single individual in this room who may have at the moment strong faith in the political doctrines for which Sir Wilfrid Laurier must stand responsible, but you will permit me to go this length, and I do it, I hope, without causing the slightest feeling of criticism one way or the other, the navy that Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave to Canada three years ago was looked upon the world over as a screaming farce. The proposal to bring to the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of Canadian defence two ships that had been condemned and that were obsolete, was something that it was difficult indeed for the people across the line, and in many centres of Europe to take seriously. It was an experiment, it was a farcial one, and it brought absolutely no result. Much better would it have been had some well studied plan been produced on advice and investigation of a most thorough character, so that the Canadian people could have secured better results for their money. There was a suggestion that the Rainbow was to come to the Pacific Coast in order to train our boys and fit them for service in the Canadian Navy. Well, if you enquire from headquarters how many boys volunteered, and how many remained on board and were trained, you will find nothing but confirmation of the opening observations that I have just given you; and if you would enquire on the Atlantic coast, pretty much the self-same condition, I am sure, would be found. After all, experience has shown that in young countries it is impossible to recruit ships for a navy. Here is the American nation to-day, with upwards of ninety millions of people, yet with a good deal of work to do on the land, and the records show that even at this time, only with extreme effort has it been possible for Uncle Sam to get ships' companies for the latest battle ships, and even then they are not the trained and finished product you get in the British Islands; because the men will stay on the land, and the boys will follow the men just so long as there is land development to be undertaken. So if my study of the question in this regard be of any value here to-day, I give it to you, with the conclusion, after submitting these illustrations, that only upon most mature consideration, most careful study from the most experienced course, may we expect to find some business-like, some efficient policy evolved that will make every Canadian share in Empire defence by way of naval assistance. I take it without the slightest question that you all agree with me that we must do our part in helping out with naval defence—(applause)—and that when that part is undertaken it should be along the best, the most efficient, and the most up-to-date lines. So it is that I would leave this section of my address to-day with the observation that when Canada is prepared to offer to her people something in the way of a permanent naval policy—and the time cannot be far distant—let it come to us from the most experienced source, so that in years to come we may not have failure written against our attempt. Recollect that it takes ships of the best type, and men of the best training to have results of the very best character.

If you grant me that Canada is part and parcel of the Empire, and that she has the determination to ever remain so, you must agree with me that the defence of London with the proper patrol of the North Sea and the Mediterranean is equally essential for Imperial purposes as is the defence of the Pacific coast—(hear, hear)—because if there is injury to the North Sea there must be irreparable damage to the Pacific coast or to the Atlantic, as the case may be; but just so long as our Navy at home in the Old Country waters is able to hold its way and stand for the dominance that it has been enabled to successfully claim for all these years, just so long will we be strong and powerful as we always have been in this section of the world. Now, if I speak of the moment in which we live, and I address myself to the question of naval defence, what must I be confronted with? A most interesting situation indeed; one where I believe for the first time in our Empire's history there has been what is substantially a call from the Mother Land to Canada for naval assistance. It has been called, and I think properly so, an emergency case. I have read, as all of you must have done, the various returns sent from Downing Street to Ottawa a few months ago by the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Right Honourable Mr. Churchill. Is there a man in this room who would propose to give a fair interpretation to those documents, prepared to tell me that substantially they meant anything else but a direct call on the Canadians to come over and help them? I would like to know in the name of common sense and fairness how you who pride yourselves upon your loyalty to King and flag would have the British Admiralty approach you? On hands and knees with hand outstretched begging of you to come up with some assistance? I should say, Never. Never in the nature of things could a Britisher undertake a task of that kind. There is the national pride and dignity that has lived there all these ages, and that is too valuable to be jeopardized by any such line of action. I have read the speeches of public me on the platform, and I have carefully followed criticism in the House of Commons, and I say it as a Canadian that I was ashamed as I followed these proceedings, to find that there were Canadians whose expressions amounted to this—that they were unwilling to do their part, man-fashion, until the Admiralty pleaded with Canada that she was in trouble and that assistance must be forthcoming from Ottawa. (Applause.) Is it to be a case that we are not to arouse ourselves as true Canadians to right responsibility until England is in trouble and war vessels are at her doors? I wonder what panic and consternation would take place all over Canada to-morrow if war were declared; I would like to see the crowds around the bulletin boards in every town and village throughout the Dominion watching for the result, and if the result were adverse, fancy the panic that would take place, and how would you as Britishers and Canadians feel if it were brought home to you that possibly by the exercise of good stout Canadian manhood you might have stayed such a tragic eventuality and assisted in keeping the grand old flag flying? (Applause.) I am not an alarmist, and I am not here to advance the political welfare of any party. But I am here as a Canadian anxious and ready and willing to speak to you on equal lines on a subject that from three thousand miles away I have tried to give careful and fair study to, and that is the way this emergency matter appears to me at the present time.

With regard to what was proposed by the Prime Minister of Canada a few months ago, I know perfectly well that there is great division of opinion all over the country, that is if I read the newspapers aright. There is a great deal of feeling and perhaps some bitterness, but do you not all agree with me that it is quite possible, since there is a fashion of armament in Europe, and since there has been no withdrawal on the part of the Admiralty from the stand taken by the First Lord some months ago, to have the entire Canadian people approach this situation in a calm and in an impartial manner? Let them study if they will, what has emanated from Whitehall, let them look over the memoranda that have been presented, and let them in all fairness as true Canadians ask themselves if this be not business of a serious import. Do you think that the Government in Downing Street was anxious at all to have to tell a story to Canada that she needed financial aid? You know perfectly well, you who know Enjgland better than I do, and Ireland and Scotland too, that you would never have had one single line from Whitehall unless it was felt at that centre of government that the hour had approached when you might conveniently stand behind your own responsibility. Think of it; even at the present moment if we have a Canadian in China or in Chile or in Siberia, and if he is in need of money, or in need of kindly sympathy, to what quarter does he go? To the British Embassy or the Consulate, as the case may be, where there is always a fraternal hand held out for him, and where he may always find material comfort, assistance and encouragement. You are not paying up a dollar for this business, you have never been asked to do so. The business man, the workingman, and the professional man in England, though, is digging down daily to keep the Foreign Office and all its sub offices well placed before the world, so that it might continue with that high standard before the world that it has always enjoyed. Do you value a right or a privilege of that kind as it deserves to be valued? This may be only a casual matter in the opinion of some because it does not come home to us in this wealthy and prosperous country. What we are concerned with from day to day is how much wealth the morrow may bring forth; we may go comfortably to our beds every night without the slightest fear that in the morning there may be some strenuous news of a declaration of war that would disturb our domestic or political ease at once. But go to England and Scotland and Wales, and study the conditions there where the workman, the store-keeper and the professional man, everybody, must be continually on the *qui vive* with respect to these things, and I assure you there is a different story to be told, and I can assure you of more than that, the failure of Canada a few months ago to give over the $35,000,000 to London for emergency assistance has created a most profound impression in the Old Country. It is not, mark you, of a sort that could give offense to anybody; it does not mean that England is not to-day as well prepared as ever to stand by Canada, but it does mean that you have disappointed very sorely millions and millions of your kinsmen across the ocean. (Hear, hear). It was never thought for one second by the people of the old Home Land that there would be the slightest difficulty with that vote of thirty-five millions. They had been reading newspaper after newspaper inspired from Canada which told of the wonderful and potential wealth of this section of Empire. One man, who is a large man in the way of business, was so kind as to show me different political papers published in Canada—rabid Liberal and very keen Tory, or rabid Tory and very keen Liberal, as the case may be—"but," said he, "all of these people tell us of the wealth of the Dominion; here is the story of the marvellous Cobalt country; here is the story of the fisheries of the Atlantic; here is the story of the pulp wood of Quebec, and of the wheat fields of the Prairie Provinces, and the wealth of the far western section, British Columbia; not in millions sterling, but in hundreds of millions sterling, and consistently with this story which is preached from the house-tops in the Mother Country, we could not lend ourselves to believe that in what was an emergency you would hesitate, possibly for political purposes, to hand over a cheque for thirty-five millions to keep the old flag flying higher than ever before."

I have not tried in these words of mine to draw a picture of things as I have seen them and have studied them, at all extravagantly; I have simply tried to tell you the story, first of a permanent policy, and next of an emergent one, as it occurs to me off-hand, assuming all the time—which we must do, because we are so sure of our ground—that the best way to reach the superlative degree of loyalty of this kind is to be true and loyal Britishers as well. As I read between the lines of one of your political leader's speeches—and here again possibly I may be on delicate ground—there is a hint of setting up Canada as a separate nation. Well, he would not be an ambitious man if he did not cherish possibly thoughts of that kind, but my idea of making Canada a great national entity would be to make her still a bigger part of the British Empire. (Applause.) I am quite satisfied that just as quickly as Canada is in a position to make the offers, you will find ready responses from over the water that will bring you into very close contact with the foreign affairs and the various matters that burden the Empire; they are keen and anxious for partnership, for co-operation. Read any public man's speeches, and you will always find that underlying his every utterance there is this expression of opinion that the Mother Country is eager, and that she is concerned to have still closer contact in the political as well as in the commercial way with the Dominion of Canada. There is something to be done over yonder, but there is a great deal to be done in Canada as well. I can look upon a picture that the next fifty years will bring, if we all pull loyally and strongly together, which must place Canada in the front place in Empire history, where the great bulk of her powerful people will be resident, and where the nerve centre of her tremendous commercial and industrial life will be found. Could there be a nobler duty left to the hands of the loyal sons to undertake than the fruition of a programme of the kind that in two or three generations to come would not only make Canada within herself a strong and powerful nation among nations, but as well be the leading influence in the greatest Empire upon which the sun has ever shone? (Applause.)

THE EXPERIENCES OF AN AMERICAN SOLDIER IN THE WAR OF 1812-14.

An Address delivered by the HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D., etc., Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 6th, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

We Canadians are by no means unduly modest in the estimate we place upon ourselves or our country—and we do not forget to glory in our past.

The Scottish Bard has it:—

"O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oorsels as ithers see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder free us
An' foolish notion."

I doubt that it would have much effect—man is a stubborn creature: but it might have some little chastening influence. And perhaps the knowledge of how another looked upon our land and some of its inhabitants a hundred years ago may be for our good.

Samuel White, of Adams County, Pennsylvania, published at Baltimore, in 1830, a little 12 mo. with the title:—

"HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN TROOPS
DURING
THE LATE WAR
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
COLONELS FENTON AND CAMPBELL

Giving an account of the crossing of the Lake from Erie to Long Point: also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Gen'ls. Gaines, Brown, Scott and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Col. Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain) and their treatment: together with an historical account of the Canadas:

BY SAMUEL WHITE
OF ADAMS COUNTY, PENN.
BALTIMORE
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR
B. EDES, PRINTER
1830"

Claiming to be "a plain man himself" he did not attempt "to embellish his narrative with high-flown language, nor to impose upon the credulous a string of fictitious adventures," but offered "a plain statement of facts" only. He warns his readers, too, that although he has been forced to speak of Englishmen very harshly in many instances, all of that nation are not such as he has described, "he has had the pleasure of knowing many, who were an honour to their country." So fortified, we approach Capt. White's story.

The Governor of Pennslyvania in 1814 called out the militia of that state to the number of 1,000 to repel the inroads of the British on the northern frontier. The Pennsylvanians do not seem to have been any more eager to fight than they had been fifty years before when Amherst found it impossible to get any troops from that province to fight the common enemy, the Indian, "which," says Amherst, "places them in the most despicable light imaginable." However it may have been in 1763, in 1814 Major Galloway and Captain White held a court martial for the trial of delinquents, "and after several days of arduous exertion, completed our business by the assessment of fines to the amount of over forty thousand dollars." That looks like a fairly large sum to make out of delinquents in a call of one thousand militia.

In an American book by M. Carey, "The Olive Branch," of which the first edition appeared at Philadelphia in 1814, and others including the sixth, in 1815, it is stated (at p. 381 of the sixth edition) that the fine in Pennsylvania upon a militia man for desertion was $32 for a private and $36 for a non-commissioned officer.

The force camped near Erie—an expedition was intended against Long Point on the other side of Lake Erie under the command of Col. Campbell of the 11th United States Infantry. The invading force, composed of four hundred regulars and five hundred volunteers, crossed over, May 15th and 16th. A company of dragoons fired upon the boats from the Canadian shore; but before the actual landing, they retreated—no doubt to join the remainder of the troop, which as we know from other sources were with a small party of Canadian militia, holding Fort Dover.

All the night of the 16th and all day of the 17th, the Americans remained "in a piece of woods near the lake exposed to the rain which poured upon us . . having no shelter except the boughs of the trees under which we rested." Next morning they crossed "Buffaloe Creek" and marched for Port Dover, having adopted what Capt. White thinks "a very politic and ingenious mode of forming," that is, "in single file, showing our whole force in front." Passing over the question whether that formation is what a military man would call "single file," we follow the troops. The British troops retreated as the invaders entered the village, and "when we reached Dover we found it deserted by all but a few women, who had white clothes hanging upon broomsticks suing for peace." So far our author agrees with reports from Canadian sources: but here begins a marked difference in the story. White says that the only hostile demonstration on their part was the destruction of some mills which were employed making flour for the army, and some houses occupied as stores—but he admits that they did burn some houses belonging to officers who had been engaged in the expedition against "Buffaloe" and Black Rock the year before. He says that "strange as it may appear, it is not the less true, that on the very day after the British came to Dover, they burnt all the houses we had left standing." One must agree that it does appear very strange indeed—especially when the Canadians say that the Americans burned the whole place to the ground, mills, distilleries and private houses; and add "a more wanton and barbarous wrong cannot be conceived."

A still stranger thing than the British burning their own houses is the weird fact that the one man who had been taken prisoner by the Americans but set free on their retreat, was, says White, promptly hanged by his people when they returned to Dover.

The invading force were some three days on the lake on their return voyage; and the whole expedition lasted some five days.

Col. Campbell being brought to book sent an impudent letter to the British General: he was afterwards court-martialed for his scandalous conduct, but escaped with a rebuke—the court declaring that the burning of the mills and distilleries was according to the rules of war, but the burning of the private houses was an error in judgment. It is in reference to this exploit that the Rev'd. John Strachan in his trenchant and unanswerable letter to ex-President Jefferson, January 30th, 1815, writes as follows:—

"On the 15th of May a detachment of the American army under Colonel Campbell, landed at Long Point, district of London, Upper Canada, and on that and the following day, pillaged and laid waste as much of the adjacent country as they could reach. They burnt the village of Dover, with the mills, and all the mills, stores, distillery and dwelling houses in the vicinity, carrying away such property as was portable, and killing the cattle. The property taken and destroyed on this occasion was estimated at fifty thousand dollars."

This is how Kingsford puts it:—

"Colonel Campbell's feat, with 500 regular troops, was to lay waste the surrounding district to the greatest extent he was able, he and his men robbing the inhabitants of their private property. He destroyed a saw-mill and tannery, 5 distilleries, 6 stores, 13 barns, 3 grist-mills, 19 dwelling houses; turning out from sheer malignity, amid the burning embers, 25 ruined families to shift in the future as they best could. Such was the conduct characterized by Colonel Winfield Scott as an 'error of judgment.'"

The following is from a report by Major-General Riall to Sir Gordon Drummond, dated Fort George, May 19th, 1814:

"Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to you a report made to me by Colonel Talbot, commanding the militia in the London district, that on the 14th inst., a party of the enemy, consisting of about 1,800 men, had crossed Lake Erie from Presqu' Isle and landed near Dover, which place, together with the mills and stores in its neighbourhood, they destroyed, and after having committed every other excess possible, re-embarked. They showed a disposition to land again at Turkey Point, but were, it is supposed, deferred from doing so by the appearance of a body of militia and a detachment of the 19th Dragoons, whom Colonel Talbot had assembled at that place. When Colonel Talbot had despatched his report the enemy's vessels were at anchor at the extremity of Long Point. Should they again attempt to land I hope they will be received by a detachment of troops and Indians which I ordered from Burlington under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Parry, 103d Regt., upon receiving the first intelligence of their attempt."

Sir Gordon Drummond reports to Sir George Prevost from Kingston, May 27th, 1814.

"Sir,—In my letter which I had the honour to address to Your Excellency on the 21st inst., I stated that a force of the enemy, at that time supposed to be about 300, had landed near Dover on Lake Erie. I have now the honour to transmit a letter from Major-General Riall conveying a report of Colonel Talbot, commanding the militia of the London District, on the subject. Your Excellency will, however, perceive that the force of the enemy has since been computed to consist of about 1,800 men, whose conduct has been disgraced during their short stay ashore by every act of barbarity and of illiberal and unjustifiable outrage. Not only a large store, fitted as a barrack for the militia, but every private house and other building belonging to the peaceable inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood of Dover has been reduced to ashes, together with Ryerse's and Finch's mills between that place and Turkey Point. The court house and public buildings at Turkey Point were only saved by the appearance of the militia and a detachment of the 19th Light Dragoons, both of which corps I have very great satisfaction in acquainting Your Excellency, evinced the strongest anxiety to come in contact with the enemy.

"I have likewise received from Lieutenant-Colonel Parry of the 103d Regiment, the most satisfactory accounts relative to the conduct of the grenadier company of that corps and the light company of the 89th, placed under his immediate orders. The latter, he says, are wild, but with attention and management perfectly tractable and orderly, and Lieut.-Colonel Parry bestows much commendation on the zeal and alacrity with which the militia assembled, considering the distance from whence they were to be collected. The Lieut.-Colonel from all these circumstances feels convinced that had not the enemy retired to his shipping before his arrival, his little band, increased by a few of the rangers and Kent volunteers as well as some persons and some Wyandot Indians who joined him from Amherstburg, would have made the enemy pay dear for their outrages. He states that but one house, in which a sick woman resided, was left standing between Paterson's Creek and Turkey Point, and the enemy on retiring avowed their intention to destroy Port Talbot in a similar manner. And as their officers appear determined to pursue the same system throughout the whole of the western frontier, I feel convinced that nothing but the most vigorous opposition to such disgraceful proceedings will prevent a recurrence of them."

Capt. White does not seem to think there was anything wrong or irregular in the raid—indeed, he seems rather astonished at the moderation of himself and his comrades. Next day orders came for a march to Buffalo, but this was checked for a time by a mutiny. White arrested the ringleader, and the march proceeded. Entering New York State they noticed a great scarcity of men in that part of the state, "many I presume had been killed by the enemy" the year before. We must not omit to notice the unholy glee exhibited by the Cataraugus Indians, "and their squaws who appeared very much pleased to see us, more particularly as they understood we were going to fight the British."

The houses along the road were "literally crammed with ladies collected . . to see us as we passed through the country"—and the gallant captain "would strongly recommend all who may be in want of handsome wives to visit the borders of Lake Erie, for I have never seen before or since in any part of the country more beautiful and elegant looking ladies." It seems almost too bad that the captain was already married—but so it was.

Losing a few men by desertion they arrived at Buffalo and found a body of U. S. regulars there with Gen. Brown in command. July 2nd they crossed over the river, and the next day took Fort Erie with its garrison of 137 men "including officers." Then the general ordered a march to meet "the enemy who lay entrenched in his works upon the plains of Chippewa." We know from other sources that this force was under the command of Gen. Riall and Col. Pearson (who had taken part in the Battle of Chrystler's Farm the year before). The British force consisted of about 1,500 regulars, including cavalry, a small number of militia and some 300 Indians. The attacking force was about 5,000 strong, 3,000 being regulars.

Captain White complains of the neglect to supply the invading troops with provisions—when they had travelled eighteen miles without provisions, volunteers were called for to drive off the hostile Indians who were firing on the pickets. With others the captain volunteered and "these were strengthened by several hundred Indians, the whole under the command of General Porter, Col. Bull and Major Galloway." Following the British Indians through the woods, they "came in full contact with the British regular line." The battle was going on in full vigour, and shortly after the "whole British force fell back and being closely pressed by the American troops, retreated in confusion to their entrenchments about a quarter of a mile distant." This battle is considered by White to have been a brilliant victory for American arms. He says triumphantly, "The conquerors of the veterans of France were, in fact, defeated by a detachment from the American army . . the conduct of these men was heroic in the extreme: wherever they directed their fire or pointed their bayonets the boasted conquerors of the Peninsula fell or fled." How different the language of this early American from the modest self-depreciation we are familiar with in those who have followed him. There can be no doubt that the American troops engaged in this campaign showed much better quality than those who had invaded this region previously, and who had met with disaster at Queenston Heights.

At all events, victory or no victory, there were no British prisoners, and Riall carried off his men and guns, having destroyed his earthwork, while the losses on both sides were about equal. The President of the United States, Mr. James Madison, seems to have thought the invasion at the Niagara Frontier very successful: he says in his message of September 20th, 1814, "Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara by the American forces under Major-General Brown, and Brigadiers Scott and Gaines have gained for these heroes and their emulating companions the most unfading laurels: and having triumphantly tested the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture." Can it be credited that notwithstanding this warning the Canadians and other British refused to lie down and take their licking? Why, they even claimed to have been successful themselves—but what will "monarchists" not do?

White and his friends Col. Bull and Major Galloway were taken prisoner by Indians, and Bull was almost at once killed by them. The captain was afterwards informed by a "Canadian gentleman . . that the murder was committed in compliance with the order of Gen. Riall"—and he seems to try hard to believe this monstrous charge. (Colonel Campbell was desperately wounded in this campaign—the cap of his knee was carried away by a cannon shot, and he died in extreme agony. Major Richardson charges him with great barbarity toward his prisoners.)

Galloway and White were forced by their savage captors to run till they thought they would drop dead. Finally both were brought before Gen. Riall who asked a number of questions, "the truth of which I was determined he should not know from me"—they were then given in charge to sergeants of the British army who kept them all night behind the breast-works on the bare ground without tent or covering of any kind. It would seem that the soldiers were no better off; and the sergeant who had White in charge lent him an old watch-coat—"he also gave me a dram from his canteen."

On the third day thereafter, White hoped to escape, as an engagement seemed to be going on; but he was watched too closely. "Major Galloway, two of our volunteers, one Indian, myself and three or four Canadians who were in confinement on suspicion of being friendly to the American cause, were led into the field under a strong guard and halted to await the fate of the day." The British retreated to Lundy's Lane and then to Queenston Heights, where White had a narrow escape, a certain "fellow" charging him with being a deserter from an English regiment, and concluding "d—n you, I will have you hung." This peril passed over; they marched for Fort George and finally sailed for York on a vessel "so crammed with wounded men, that the other prisoners and myself were obliged to remain on deck the whole time of the passage from Fort George to York." On the march from Chippewa to

Fort George, a gentleman named Carr,* "a doctor," had kindly given the prisoner a $20 bill to divide between himself and his friend in misfortune Major Galloway—and the British officers added another $5 bill, while a dragoon officer sent them some tea and sugar, and a bottle of rum. White makes it a matter of great complaint that "all the time we drew rations we were never allowed any liquor, and got none except the one bottle thus made a present of," and compares this barbarous treatment with the treatment of prisoners in the American camp, where as "I know to be a fact . . the men belonging to my own company have gone without their liquor that prisoners might be better accommodated." Could self-denial and courtesy reach a higher point? And would the modern American be able to give up his Manhattan or Martini in like case?

At York† the prisoners were marched to a tavern where the landlady sold them two old shirts more than half worn for "the *moderate* price of eight dollars." Perhaps the landlady thought to get even with an American for the sack of York by his countrymen in May of the previous year. We hear much of the wanton destruction of Washington by the British forces, and find their conduct compared to that of the Barbarians of the middle ages—but it was no whit worse than the conduct of the American troops at Toronto and Niagara, of which we hear little, if anything.

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*This was Dr. Robert Kerr who had been Surgeon to Sir John Johnson's Second Battalion: he settled in Newark (Niagara) and became Surgeon to the Indian Department. He had also a large private practice. In the war of 1812 he took an active part in a surgical way: afterwards he became Judge at the Surrogate Court of Niagara: and a Magistrate for the District. He was fond of sport and nicknamed the "boxing Magistrate." His wife was the daughter of Sir William Johnson and "Molly," sister of Brant; and his son became chief of the Mohawks. He was appointed by the Governor a member of the Medical Board for the examination of those applying for a license to practice—and seems to have been not only a most loyal but also a capable and humane physician and surgeon. Some may be interested to know that he was a Mason of high degree.

Dr. Robert Kerr was a member of the Land Board for the District of Nassau, appointed by Lord Dorchester to act from and after May 1, 1791, and afterwards he was a member of the Land Board for Lincoln County only. He was himself grantee of lots 29, 30 and 31 in the 2nd Concession of "Township No. 7."

His wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Kerr, was a woman of great natural ability, an accomplished lady and an author of no little merit; she wrote several very interesting books on the customs and religion of her mother's people. She and her husband passed most of their lives in Niagara.

†Surveyor-General Ridout, in a letter to his son at Cornwall, dated at York, Sunday, 10th July, 1814, gives a graphic account of the wounded and their arrival at York.

Being ordered to Montreal they gave their parole, but "we did not profit much . . . for an hour had scarcely passed after we had signed the parole when we were ordered on board a Durham boat to be sent under guard to Kingston. The British officers on board when night came on went ashore and always took Galloway and myself with them: we lodged in a house convenient to the vessel, the other prisoners were suffered to remain on board under guard."

We know that while there was what was called a road from York to Kingston at that time (it had been built by Danforth, an American, about 1800) it was not too good, and part of the year was almost impassable—and it must occur to anyone that the prisoner was very fortunate in being carried on a Durham boat rather than plowing his way along on foot.

Landing at Ives' Creek, about 18 miles east of York, they put up for the night—White had been very unwell for some days, and there was taken so ill that he could not be moved. He remained in a very bad state for eight or ten days, putting up at Mr. Ives', and was given up by the medical man appointed by the Government to attend him. But his "better fortune brought an old Yankee Doctor, as they called him . . Mr. Ives' family physician, on a visit to the house—having seen me and examined the medicine which was administering to me, he pronounced my case as desperate but . . expressed an opinion that something might yet be done for me . . ." He changed the treatment and "whether it was owing to this change of practice or that the crisis of the disease had arrived," the prisoner began to get better almost at once. When he was convalescing he "had many visitors from several miles distance who always came after dark and returned the same night: they were very anxious to know what was the intention of the United States in sending troops into Canada, and if they had determined on taking it—if such they said was our intention, a powerful party in Canada might be raised to assist in the undertaking . . . There were an immense number of men at that time disaffected with Government, and had the United States deemed it expedient, or possessed the means of sending a large army into Canada with the avowed purpose of freeing them from British Dominion, numbers would have flocked to our standard, and," adds the sanguine Pennsylvanian, "they might with reason have trembled for their possession."

Notwithstanding the general opinion and little flattering as it is to Canadians of that time, it must be admitted that there was undoubtedly a want of loyalty, or at least a want of willingness to fight the American invader, exhibited by the Canadian settler on more than one occasion, and at more than one place. A contemporary work published in 1813, at Philadelphia, written by one M. Smith, who was an American but who had lived in Upper Canada for some time before the war and had been allowed by the Government to leave the province on the outbreak of the war, a number of statements are made which are corroborated by facts which are well known. The book is called "A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada, etc." On page 87 he says, "It was generally thought in Canada if Hull had marched in haste from Sandwich to Fort George, the province would then have been conquered without the loss of a man . . Brock . . ordered some part of the militia from the District of London, about 100 miles from Sandwich, to march there. This many refused to do of their own accord, and others were persuaded so to refuse by a Mr. Culver, a Mr. Beamer, and one more who rode among the people for six days telling them to stand back. Whenever the officer came to warn the inhabitants to meet at such a place to receive arms and orders to march against

Hull, they promised to go; but instead of going they took some provision and went to the woods, and there waited in hopes that Hull would soon accomplish his promise, but, poor things, they were deceived and had to return and obey orders."

After the surrender of Hull "the people of Canada became fearful of disobeying the government; some that fled to the wilderness returned home, and the friends of the United States were discouraged and those of the King encouraged . . ." In the Talbot papers will be found some account of this trouble in the London District.

On p. 93, Smith says that about twelve days after the Battle of Queenston Heights "Col. Graham on Yonge Street, ordered his regiment to meet in order to draft a number to send to Fort George: however, about forty did not appear but went out into Whitechurch township, nearly a wilderness, and there joined about thirty more who had fled from different places. When the regiment met there were present some who had liberty of absence a few days from Fort George; these, with others, volunteered their services to Col. Graham to the number of 160, to go and fetch them in, to which the Colonel agreed but ordered them to take no arms, but when they found they must not take arms they would not go. At the first of December they had increased to about 300, about which time, as I was on my way to Kingston to obtain a passport to leave the province, I saw about 50 of them near Smith's Creek [now Port Hope] in Newcastle District on the main road with fife and drum, beating for volunteers, crying huzza for Madison [the President of the United States]. None of the people in this district bore arms at that time, except twelve at Presqu' Harbour. They were universally in favour of the United States, and if ever another army is landed in Canada this would be the best place . . . many of the Canadian militia would desert . . . but . . . an army dare not rebel, not having now any faith in any offers of protection in a rebellion, as they have been deceived." This last refers to the promises made by Hull on the strength of which several Canadians joined him, only to be left to their fate when Hull surrendered. It was reported that they were hanged; contemporary American reports state that they were shot at Fort George: whatever their fate, it was a deterrent.

About this time a boat load of marauders—though White does not call them that—landed near the creek, robbed the mail and took prisoner a Colonel of Militia and his son, also an officer in the militia—but they soon released them. Canadian history, so far as I know, does not mention this exploit.

It is probable that the story is an emendation of that of a real expolit which has been credited to the notorious "Bill" Johnston, "patriot" according to some, "pirate" according to others. It is said that shortly after burning a schooner lying nearly completed on the stocks at Presqu' Isle, he crossed over the bay and waylaid the mail at a spot about half way between what are now Brighton and Smithfield villages. He with his gang demanded the mail bag from the boy who was carrying it on horseback, and having received it, let the boy and horse go. This version is given in the Ont. Hist. Soc. Papers, vol. 5, p. 70; but Bill Johnston did not make his appearance as a "land pirate" till the troubles of 1837.

The real heroes will appear from the following extract from a report by Sir Gordon Drummond to Sir George Prevost dated at Kingston, July 17th, 1814, which reads in part: "I am concerned to inform Your Excellency that a gunboat and a Durham boat of the enemy landed a strong party at Presqu' Isle (Lake Ontario) in the night of the 1st instant where they burnt the store house of a Mr. Gibson and a small schooner which was building there by him."

The following is from "Boston Yankee" newspaper of July 15th, 1814, as an extract from a letter addressed to a gentleman in New York, and dated Sackett's Harbour, July 6th, 1814: "With pleasure I inform you of a small expedition (fitted out of this place on the 27th ult., and returned this day) of two whale boats carrying 15 men each, who succeeded in burning a bomb vessel of 90 tons, on the stocks ready for launching, together with a public building containing naval stores, at a place called Presqu' Isle, directly opposite Oswego on the Canada shore."

Major Rogers* came along and said "he would not trust me, and that as soon as my health was sufficiently established . . he would have me carried into the country so as to be at a distance from the lake." And so it was—but in ten or twelve days the prisoner was put on board a boat in charge of Lieut. Norris, of the Canadian militia, to be taken to Kingston. "Rogers was . . a militia officer, a devoted monarchist, and in consequence of his zeal was then, though stationed at home, under full pay from his government, being kept there to have an eye to the inhabitants and prevent them from making their escape to the United States. In many places along Lake Ontario the inhabitants had deserted their homes and farms and made their way good to the United States: several were compelled to fly to save their lives as a single word said against the government at that time was sufficient to hang them."

That anyone who says a word against the Government is, under British rule, always hanged out of hand is, of course, a commonplace. White knew—for "those who were brought prisoners from Fort George to York at the time we were brought in there on suspicion of being friendly to the American cause, were, as I afterwards understood, hanged, and some even without judge, jury or the common formalities of a trial." That is the sort of people these devoted monarchists are—as every one knows.

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* This Major Rogers was not Major Rogers of "Rogers' Rangers," the famous scout of Indian times, whose exploits were the groundwork of Fenimore Cooper's "Leather Stocking," etc., but his son David McGregor Rogers, who came to Upper Canada after the Revolutionary War. He settled in the Bay of Quinte, then moved to Presqui' isle (then called Newcastle), and finally to Haldimand Township, near what is now Grafton. He became Clerk of the Peace, Postmaster, Member of the Legislature, Judge of the District Court, Registrar of Deeds. When member he generally supported the Government, but was sometimes accused of radical principles. He was a member of every Assembly (except one) from 1796 to 1824—for that one he refused to be a candidate as he had a claim against the Government. He was active throughout the war and was a zealous patriot. A man of principle and integrity, his descendants do no discredit to him, but are well known and estimable members of society.

While there is no official record of anyone in this part of Upper Canada deserting to the United States, there were a few further east, and quite a number further west who did so—there are records still extant in Osgoode Hall as to many of these.

On arriving at Kingston he was ordered into close confinement at Major Rogers' instance, "for the mere gratification of his vile disposition and the venomous hatred he bore to everyone who professed republican principles: at home he bore the name of a tyrant and was generally despised." He was certainly a very bad one. Why, even when poor White was lying sick at Ives' Creek he came and strutted about in the sick room and said that the British had taken Washington, and "he (meaning myself) may as well die now as at any other time, as that will be his fate at all events." The American took up the cudgels for himself and his country and "had the pleasure to see him depart in no very enviable humour." And certainly no one can say that the Major did not richly deserve all he got.

"Between York and Kingston . . . a distance of about 200 miles, I do not recollect having seen one town either situate on or in view of the lake."

"He was soon sent off to Montreal—near the Seven Islands they met a fleet of 110 boats, two of them gunboats, and with the timbers of a vessel built in England even to the last pin, and ready to put together to enable them to retain their superiority on Lake Ontario." This is perfectly true: the Home Government sent out ships in parts to be put together on the great lakes—at many times the cost of building them on the shores of the lakes themselves. But they were supplied with water-tanks and apparatus for distilling fresh water from these bodies of water, supposed at Westminster to be salt. These the ships would, I fear, have lacked if they had been built in Canada.

White had made up his mind to jump overboard and swim for it if he got near the American shore, but "neither bribe (of $500) nor persuasion could induce" the

Captain "to alter his course." Some fat bullocks smuggled over from New York he saw bought by the British Commissary for $20 a hundred, all in gold—not a bad price. A plan to escape failed as the Lieutenant locked the door and stayed with the prisoner, and "pointing to a table upon which lay his sword and pistols, gave me to understand that he would kill me if I made an attempt to escape." This man must have been a monarchist, too.

Arriving at Lachine on the way to Montreal, the party had to walk the nine miles intervening—on the way they espied a snug little farm house; by good luck the farmer turned out to be an American, and "he handed down a decanter of old whiskey, requesting us to help ourselves," and gave the wearied travellers a good breakfast, for all of which he absolutely refused to receive any recompense. We are not told how much, if any, old whiskey was left in the decanter for the farmer.

Montreal does not seem to have taken to the prisoners; for "as we passed along the streets, the citizens crowded their doors and pavements, and pointing to me, cried out 'there goes an American officer: he's a d——d pretty creature, isn't he?'" No wonder Captain White "was exceeding wroth, and had my power been equal then to my will, I would have taken ample vengeance."

From Kingston to Montreal "are nine smart little villages, viz., Prescott, Youngstown, Edwardsburg, Williamsburg, Osnaburg, Cromwell, Dulac, Cidris, Vaudril and LaChine." These names are recognizable still—even "Cromwell."

Montreal then had a population of about 6,000, and had a considerable trade in furs.

Several plans were made for escape, but none was implemented—one because the firm of "Ballas & Gaits," who "had made a splendid fortune by smuggling business," would not lend "$50 to $100" to the captives.

The prisoners were soon sent to Quebec—during the voyage the Captain treated them kindly, seating them at his own table, giving them brandy and wine, and supplying them with playing cards. But "this . . .

was too good to last long, and in three days we reached Quebec." A good description is given of this "large and handsome town . . the capital of Canada." There they met a number of other American prisoners; but the stay was short, for orders came to remove to Halifax. A plot was formed to take the ship as soon as she had got out of the St. Lawrence, and to compel the sailors to work the vessel into New York, but they got inside the Halifax coasters too soon, and "having no particular propensity for swinging, we abandoned the project . ." Halifax does not seem to have been a bad place to live at, but prices had even a century ago gone up, for "Major Galloway and I paid $2 at a tavern for a couple of glasses of brandy each, and some oysters which were so bad we were forced to leave them untouched." It is true we are not told the size of these two glasses of brandy: and it is more than likely that a Pennsylvanian palate was not educated up to Canadian oysters.

The Americans "were one day not a little shocked at the arrival of a number of American soldiers who were entrapped and taken with Col. Boerstler in Upper Canada at some creek between Fort George and Little York by the British and their allies the Indians."

Col. Boerstler had been prominent in the attack on the posts near Fort Erie, in December, 1812; he was placed in command of the detachment to attack Lieutenant Fitz Gibbon's position at Twelve Mile Creek near St. Catharines in June, 1813. Warned by the famous Laura Secord, the British forces were prepared for the attack and met the American army with a vigorous fusilade. Boerstler was himself wounded and soon surrendered with his whole force, some 550 in all.

Toward the end of February, 1815, peace being proclaimed, all the prisoners were released and made their way homeward.

"The soil of the province of Upper Canada is exceedingly good in every part . . . from the head of the Bay Quantie to the head of Lake Ontario, it is altogether a black, light, rich mould in most parts seven inches deep after which it is brown clay." A description is given of Rice Lake, Lake Simcoe and other waters, not very far from the truth, as well as of the Mountain Lake* in Prince Edward County on the top of a mountain 200 feet high.

It is a matter of regret to read that "in some parts of Upper Canada through which I passed, the people did not appear to pay the least respect to the Sabbath day. I have frequently seen women churning butter and baking bread, and men chopping wood and attending to divers other employments the same as on week-days," but they got their deserts, these Sabbath-breakers, for they have only "a substitute for coffee . . viz., dry crusts of bread put on the fire and burnt black, then pounded fine and boiling water being poured upon it, it is suffered to rest for awhile when it is pronounced fit for use." Provisions of all sorts were "very scarce and dear. In . . Halifax beef was upwards of twenty cents per lb., turkey was fifty cents per lb., wheaten meal, though sour, was twenty-four dollars per bbl."

We leave Captain White at home in Adams County: our sympathy goes out to him on learning that when, at Boston, he called on the Pay Master for his pay, he could not get cash, but must take due bills—cashing these at the brokers he had to allow a discount of twenty per cent., some even twenty-five per cent. He took some Philadelphia paper, and when he went to pay his stage fare five per cent. more was deducted, thus "calculating the ten per cent. we paid at Halifax for borrowed money, twenty per cent. discount for cash at Boston, and five per cent deducted by the stage proprietor made in all an allowance of thirty-five per cent. which we were compelled to pay." It must have been at least some satisfaction that the hated and despised Britisher got only ten of this, while those "who professed republican principles" got the lion's share of the prey.

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* It is of this little lake (or another near it) that Smith in the work cited says: "It is very smooth. At different times the inhabitants have in the morning seen tracks, as if a large log had been drawn along from the bay to the lake. This was supposed to have been done by snakes."

A SHORT REVIEW OF MY VISIT TO THE EUROPEAN MANŒUVRES

An Address by COL. THE HONOURABLE SAM HUGHES, Minister of Militia and Defence, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, Nov. 14, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

When I became Minister of Militia there were two or three courses which I might pursue. One was to leave the management of the department to the distinguished officers here and there across the country who were in many respects capable of carrying out a certain line of policy. Another was to pursue the policy of drift, and another was to seek to carry out some ideas I happened to have of my own in regard to the upbuilding of the militia of the country. Being in power, I chose the last course. (Applause.) I thought I did not have the very best respect for the views of some of my officers all over the country, but for many, many years I have held that the money spent on the militia was more or less wasted; men were taken out to camps at ages when their characters and their muscles were formed, and when it would be almost impossible to train them to bring a rifle to the shoulder with the facility that is necessary in a proper soldier. So I conceived the idea of establishing the cadet corps on a universal basis throughout the Dominion. I was warned it would be futile, that Quebec would not tolerate it; but Quebec has taken it up, and now Quebec has nearly as many cadets in that province as all the rest of the Dominion of Canada put together. (Applause.) So much for the prophets of evil. What is more, Quebec is going ahead with leaps and bounds in establishing cadet corps throughout every centre in their borders, as all the other parts of the Dominion of Canada are also, but Quebec leads. Second, I found that all over the Dominion of Canada the custom had grown up, as is found in many countries, that the youngsters run the streets at night uncontrolled, and I have never yet seen very much good come to the youth of the land by running the streets in the evening. I felt if we could have drill halls established in every city and town and village, where the young men might feel at home with the various cadet corps or militia organizations, great good would be done. The drill halls in Canada have done more good—I will not drag in the churches—have done more good to the young manhood of the country than any other buildings, possibly the churches alone excepted. There is a type of manhood here that is a credit to the Dominion of Canada. Military training, I always felt, made better boys, developed them physically, mentally and morally, gave them that discipline, that observance of law and order, and the responsibility that goes to the upbuilding of noble manhood; all these things being developed, it made them better citizens for spiritual matters, and in every sense I have always maintained that if war might be wiped off the face of the earth—and we are going to wipe it off in the next week or two, or month or two at the celebration of the century of peace—I would still go in for training the boys in the cadet system, because the boy trained along those lines is a better man, other things being equal, than his brother not similarly trained. (Applause.) We have been in only two years, but we have the wheels fairly well rolling. I like being recognized as energetic—(referring to Chairman's remarks)—it is far easier to keep moving than it is to sit still, and at my time of life unless a fellow keeps moving he soon drops out. It is all right for young fellows to be able to lie around, but an old fellow must keep going or he soon loses that energy and physical power that are necessary to keep him in his proper place. I conceived the notion of inspiring the proper spirit throughout the length and breadth of the country, and one of the things I set to work on was to remove the prejudice in the minds of the best class of men in the community,—I refer to the clerical class and I refer to them not as a profession but as individuals, because we have our tiffs with them occasionally—to remove the wrong impression that was in their minds regarding the militia of the country, and let me say I succeeded in doing it, and to-day ninety-eight per cent. of the clergy of Canada are right at our backs for the cadet and militia system all over the land. I also found others in the country prejudiced against the system, and let me say, with all due regard to the friends properly prejudiced against the volunteer system, no mother wants to see her boy go out and come back after the first drill smelling with the fumes of liquor or reeling with intoxication. I make no apology here or any other place for banishing liquor from the training camps of the country. (Applause.) And let me say, as long as I am Minister of Militia it is going to stay banished. I am not going to go and keep it out, but the officers who cannot keep it out are going to get out of the service, as a number of them have got out already. I make no apology; it is a straight business transaction; we are training the boys and we are going to carry it out. Nobody would dream of ordering a canteen in the Collegiate Institutes of the City of Toronto, and yet we might just as reasonably demand that the canteen should be established in the various Collegiate Institutes throughout Ontario as to demand that they should be carried into our militia or cadet camps of training; and the officer who cannot do without his drop for the sake of example to his men had better get out of the service.

I conceived that it would be a good thing to inspire the officers with what is done in other countries, and we made the experiment of having a number of officers cross the water to the British manœuvres, and last year some went to the French manœuvres. It was a very valuable experience. Let me point out that I happen to represent the most unpopular department, that is, the one most open to attack of any in the Government—the Militia Department. We meet people who come around and say, "You don't want to train our boys to be murderers." No, I don't, but I want to train every boy so that he is ready to defend his mother in case his land is invaded. They tell us it is waste money, that we are going to have peace all over the universe. It looks like it, with the Christians and the Turks murdering each other in the Balkans! Mexico has been carrying on open butchery for some years, and before long our friends across the border who have been agitating peace, are likely going to be into it up to their elbows in trying to pacify Mexico by cutting the throats of their neighbours. I find I am invited to every peace celebration. The programme of the peace celebration next year is to be a monster display of the armed forces of the United States and Canada along the border. I would be almost afraid to bring them together at the peace celebration, because when the peace delegates met at the Hague some years ago to talk peace, they had to call in sixty policemen to keep them from fighting, and if we had the vast armies of Canada and the United States celebrating a hundred years of brotherly love and affection, something might turn up and we would be at each other in dead earnest.

I brought the boys across to Britain and France last year, and let me say the money was well expended. If there is never any worse expenditure of public money than in having the best officers go abroad—that does not mean that many of the officers left behind were not equally good—when I brought the best men across they came back broadened, developed, inspired and instructed, and no better expenditure of money was ever made in the Dominion of Canada, and I make no apology for it.

This year I conceived the notion, having made the experiment last year, of taking about two officers this year on the average from each division. From the City of Toronto I think Col. Mercer was about the only representative, and he is a very worthy representative. The officers that were selected were typical Canadians, and splendid citizens and magnificent soldiers. We reached the Old Land, and after being there a day or two we struck for the Continent. The route traversed was the border land, the old historic fighting ground along the borders of France and Germany,—Cambray, St. Quentin, Sedan, Gravelotte, Mars la Tour, Metz, and then the garrison centres, such as Nancy, Chalons, Laon and Toul. These were all visited; then we went up the valley of the Moselle, and across the Ballon des Vosges and down to Belfort, also a tremendously garrisoned city. I may point out that I had the privilege of making arrangements through Field Marshal Sir John French and Lord Brooke, that at all these places every courtesy would be shown our Canadian friends, and the officers who had the privilege of attending the French manœuvres will bear me out. Brothers would not have been welcomed more readily than our friends were by the French officers. Our next trip was to Switzerland where three days' manœuvres were being carried on. We reached there and took these in. The Swiss army is under compulsory service, citizen soldiery. They go out for a certain number of weeks training for a certain number of years and then they are placed on the reserves and are called out at certain times. This was the annual manœuvres of the second division—the country being divided into three or four divisions. I think finer horses than the Swiss have, could not be found. Many of them are bought in Ireland; they are picked all over the world and sold to the officers on certain conditions, and each officer keeps his horse in good shape, and finer horses cannot be found than we saw on the manœuvres. And better men cannot be found anywhere. The youth of the country, to a man, are trained in these physical exercises, and the consequence is you never meet a man but stands erect, square, fine, open countenance, and looks you straight in the face; and although it is a very poor country, the Swiss people are as thrifty and energetic as can be found under the broad canopy of Heaven, and the man who should propose that the compulsory system should be abolished would find very little sympathy in any part of that republic.

A number of the officers, in fact all except myself, returned to the French manœuvres. We had not made arrangements for the officers to join the German manœuvres. The main German manœuvres were carried out in the eastern part of Germany at the time the Swiss manœuvres were on, so we could not attend both, and arrangements were made to join the Swiss; but the western army manœuvres of Germany were carried on from Frankfort to Cassel and in the vicinity of Metz. Our officers returned and spent three or four days with the French army up the valley of the Moselle from Nancy to Epinal, and I am satisfied Col. Mercer for Toronto will give the details of their experiences there. I am sure they will all prove satisfactory. In France they have compulsory service, and sons of the judges, and the highest in the land fall in side by side with the sons of carters, and a handsomer lot of men it would be hard to find, and I think they are all thoroughly alert to their business. They are magnificent marchers; they march faster than our walk, almost a lope, but they get along splendidly. I walked with them but would not care to keep it up more than twenty or thirty miles. They all march carrying the full pack, from 30 to 60 pounds' weight, in order to harden themselves for service. The Swiss boys carry the packs just the same, and after they have marched fifteen to eighteen miles these lads came into camp just as fresh as though they had not had the burden they had at all. Personally it was my privilege to visit all through the southern and central German region till I reached Frankfort, and at Frankfort I found the army had left and was then some 30 or 40 miles to the north, advancing on Cassel. I had no passports; I never used any, I simply presented myself to the officers and the comaraderie that is among soldiers was at once manifest. Here let me point out that I have never been able to see any reason why the Canadian soldier should not chum it with the American soldier the same as a Canadian lawyer with an American, or a clergyman with an American clergyman. Wars are not brought on by soldiers; they are simply the instruments for settling whatever disputes the other organizations may bring up. As a clergyman said a while ago, the wars are too often produced by the stock exchanges, the newspapers, the politicians, and, unfortunately, by the clergy, but never by the soldiers. It was my privilege to find the German army up near Cassel, and the experiences I had there were very pleasant. The German soldier of course, as everyone knows, is a thoroughly trained fighting man.

We then returned to Metz, the old historic city, famous in the wars of 1870, and in returning I once more passed along the old battlefields of 1870, and once more reviewed the positions taken from the French by the Germans. For thirty or forty miles around Metz the country is one continuous battle field, one continuous graveyard. Except in special cases, they have not done as the Americans have done, that is to remove the dead, but you will find in a five-acre field or a ten-acre field, right among the turnips maybe, ten or fifteen little mounds and the inscription "Here lie" so many French and German soldiers, buried together, and so on all over the country. At the strategic points, at St. Privat for instance, a magnificent monument showed that there fell 1,292 men of the Regiment of the Imperial Guards, and 56 officers, showing the determination with which the Germans pressed on, and the tenacity with which the French held to the last position. Passing on through to France, we found but one solitary memorial on the French side of those unfortunate days. My route then lay across to Sedan, and all the way the French fortresses were noted, although they are always more or less hidden as the German are; and the French garrisons were everywhere encountered. At Sedan I had the privilege of being taken all over the old field and seeing the scenes of 1870.

I then thought I would like to pass into Belgium, and let me draw attention to a few thoughts presented by the people yonder. A great many in England, and a great many in Canada and the United States, think that France and Germany stand ready to go at each other simply for the love of fighting, or to carry out some old personal grudge or spite. Nothing of the kind; you hear them talk commonly on both sides. Here is a map of Europe; the German trade from the central district reaches the ocean through Holland and Belgium, and they point out to you that the cities of Holland and Belgium are the cities that do the German trade, and the Germans naturally say, "Why should we have our seaports in Belgium and Holland?" And there is no getting around it; one finds the supposed agents of the

German government instilling these ideas on every hand, —at least the people of Holland and Belgium do not hesitate to say so—that these two countries, lying along the western frontier of Germany, and on the sea, should form the seaports of Germany. A great deal of the old independent line of thought is dominant in Holland still, the old spirit of the Netherlands is dominant, and they resent the idea of being annexed to Germany, as do the Belgians. You see at a glance if you look at the map of Europe, the cause of all the preparations between these two great countries, and incidentally it is pointed out by the people yonder that if France were weak enough to consent to be annexation of Belgium and Holland to Germany, if France could not prevent it, England would at once become the second sea power, because with the addition of those ports and navies to Germany she would far outclass Britain on the sea, as she does every other nation on land. In that way these people make no pretense of anything other than a straight business transaction of what they all regard as a coming struggle between France and Germany, and the ultimate aim of it is the possession of Holland and Belgium by the German Empire in order that their boats coming down the Rhine and the other stream may have their access to the world from German ports instead of from Belgian and Dutch ports.

I went to the field of Waterloo and saw the Belgians. They have a smart lot of soldiers. I also visited Holland, but saw only a regiment or two there.

I came back to England and took part in the British divisional manœuvres. Every facility was given, from Field Marshal Sir John French down; there was no Canadian officer but was afforded every facility; the instruction was given that any Canadian officer, where-ever he was seen, was to be given every facility for seeing everything that was going on on both sides in connection with the British manœuvres. The greatest courtesy was extended on every hand. The manœuvres were in the district between Bedford and Oxfordshire. It is a closed country, hilly to some extent, and it is not necessary to go into details further than to say that I am sure Col. Mercer will bear me out when I state that the first morning we attended the manœuvres we found the soldiers had slept all night in a rain with no covering but a rubber blanket; there was not a soldier that was not wet to the hide, and a more chirpy, plucky lot of boys never passed in review than those British soldiers. (Applause.) They conducted the marches and carried themselves with that bearing that is characteristic of the Britisher in all parts of the world. Without making any comparison, suffice it to say that the British soldier of to-day, I am satisfied, is far ahead of what he was at the time of the South African War, and then I think he was equal to anything that had been in history previously. After the British manœuvres were over, the official Canadian representatives formed part of the Army Council Dinner, an annual dinner given by the Army Council, presided over by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and to which all the representatives of foreign nations are invited,—all the military attachés. On this occasion the very unique honour was bestowed on the colonies of their being represented at the dinner, and being the senior officer from the colonies it fell to my luck to be chosen to occupy a seat on the left of Sir John French, and to be the one who welcomed the representatives of the foreign nations to the British army manœuvres and dinner. I am sure it will be pleasing to our old friend Col. Mason to know that the Empire is still holding together, and that the British Government, —the highest soldier in the Government, Sir John French —recognizes the kinship of the Colonial soldier, and that the word "Empire" which Col. Mason chose for the founding of this club some years ago, is not by any means obliterated in the history of modern British associations. (Applause.)

After the manœuvres and after the dinner, I thought I would take a holiday, so I skipped off to Scotland. I passed through Carlisle, and one of the most interesting little meetings it has been my pleasure to have for a long while took place there. All through the district were a number of the boys who were with me in South Africa, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Yeomanry. We had a very pleasant reunion; the last time I had seen them was in the South. I also visited a number of the graves of the boys who were brought back, who fell out there, and in each case very fine memorials have been erected. I passed down by Dumfries, one of Robby Burns' old homes, and I didn't forget to visit the old hotel where Robby used to spend the evenings and too much of the money; I sat in the old chair, and so on. There was a very nice young girl—(Laughter)—appointed to take the party around. Finally she came to a window and said, "Here is some writing done with his own hand," and on reading it I saw

Gin a body meet a body
  Comin' through the grain,
Gin a body kiss a body
  The thing's a body's ain.

She saw I was interested, and she drew my attention to another line:

Gin a body meet a lassie
  Comin' frae the farm,
Gin a body kiss a lassie
  It winna dae her harm.

I said, "Don't you, living in this land of Burns, ever feel like writing poetry?" She said, "No." I said, "Well, I do, and I think I'll try my hand."

Gin a body meet a lassie
  In this gran' old toon,
Gin a body kiss a lassie,
  Need a lassie froon?

"How would that do?" "I guess it's all right," she said. (Laughter.)

The other night I was telling the story, and just as I finished my good friend here whose inspirations and volitions and associations run the same line as mine do, said, "Well?" I said, "Well, what?" "Well, did you kiss her?" "Good gracious," I said, "I thought she meant the poetry was all right." (Laughter.)

We passed up to Ellisland where Robby composed that beautiful old song, "To Mary in Heaven." The Maxwelton braes are still occupied by a member of the Laurie family. All through the moors and mountains between Ayrshire and Dumfries you will find, even in those hills, monuments to the old convenanting times. Down in Ayrshire in the land of Burns and Bonnie Doon I need not dwell on the historic and poetical associations of the country. I passed up through Glasgow and on to Loch Lomond and by the Duke of Argyll's magnificent castle on Loch Fyne. I always like to remember Lochaber and those old Scotch scenes, and the soldiers who marched out to those wars of the 17th and 18th centuries; over five thousand marched out and less than eight hundred returned; and it is interesting to remember that those lads who fell, leaving widows and offspring, those widows and offspring were those who were brought to Canada and who are the progenitors of the great Scotch settlements in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, up the Ottawa valley and on through Glengarry, Lanark, Victoria and Bruce; these were the progenitors of the Scotch settlements to-day throughout the length and breadth of the Province of Ontario. In the old Lochaber district almost every mile has a monument to some General that fell in the last century in the maintenance of the honour of the British arms. The monuments of Camerons are found all through the Locheil district. Near Comrie I saw a splendid monument and asked who it commemorated, and was told General Sir David Baird. I asked my informant the story of David's mother. He said that was well known in the neighbourhood; when the news came that David was a prisoner with the Hindoos at the close of the 18th century, and the clergyman was delegated to inform David's mother that her son was prisoner and was chained to a native, in place of bemoaning David's fate she lifted up her eyes in reverence and said, "May the Lord have mercy on the poor native that is chained to our David." It recalled an incident in my family history. My grandfather happened to be in the 67th Regiment at the siege of Seringapatan in 1798. The breaches were all made in the walls for the assault, and General David Baird was reviewing the troops opposite each such abrasure. Approaching this particular one he said, "Well, 67th, what will you do for me to-day?" And the Colonel said, "We will do ourselves the honour of following where you lead, Sir." General Baird said, "Then I will do myself the honour of leading the 67th in the assault," and eight horses fell under Baird that day before he got through the breach. You find monuments all over the land commemorating scenes in history that have done much to uplift the spirit of imperialism the wide world over.

Suffice it to say money has been spent in taking these officers over to the manœuvres. I am proud of the expenditure; no better money has ever been spent; not an officer has returned that has not earned his money by good hard work half a dozen times over;—not an officer but has profited by the learning, by the knowledge, by the inspiration that he has acquired on the trip. More than that, the inspiration which it has given to the boys who did not go, to perfect themselves, to make themselves worthy of being chosen on another occasion, for no man was chosen on anything but the basis of his military fitness, no Grit nor Tory was considered, no orange nor green, French nor English; it was the man who had done good service in his part of the country. There were lots of other men who should have been brought, but one could not bring them all. The inspiration alone, which was given to the force throughout Canada, is sufficient to repay all the money that was expended on this trip. (Applause.) To their credit be it said that every officer who had a wife—I am sorry some of the Toronto fellows have not—every officer who had a wife who could possibly find it convenient to leave her family, brought her along. They did not come at the Government expense at all, they went at their husbands' expense. The experiment was so successful, that, as far as I am personally concerned, I will encourage, if not insist on every officer bringing his wife with him on any such future expedition. Not only did it lend tone to the organization, but the women have come home thoroughly imbued with the wonders of imperialism, and will be by no means the least in upholding the honour of the old British Empire should it ever be questioned in any part of the Dominion of Canada. (Applause.)

CITY OF TORONTO STREET RAILWAY QUESTION

This was one of the most important matters before the citizens of Toronto during recent years. It excited great controversy, and became an issue of absorbing public interest.

The Executive of the Empire Club was fully justified, by the approval of the members, in the arrangements made for the exposition of alternative schemes by representative gentlemen, who could speak with authority and intimate knowledge of the subject.

On Thursday, Nov. 27, His Worship Mayor H. C. Hocken spoke on the "Proposed Street Railway Purchase," the title of the address indicating His Worship's solution of the problem. In a concise and cogent argument, supported by the reports of experts and reference to authoritative documents, the Mayor enabled the Members to understand his viewpoint, that the present transportation system should be bought up at once by the City and developed.

On Monday, Dec. 1st, the Club was addressed by R. S. Gourlay, Esq., a Member of the Toronto Harbour Commission, whose theme was entitled "The Harbour Board's Plan for Solving the Toronto Railway Problem." The points in this alternative Scheme, with its suggestions of improved transportation, were exhibited with great clearness and ability as a practicable solution.

To both speakers the Empire Club tendered a sincere and appreciative vote of thanks, for their able and spirited contributions to one of the major issues in Toronto civic life.

"MY EXPERIENCE IN THE WORLD OF MISSIONS"

This was the title of an Address delivered before the Empire Club on Wednesday, Dec. 3rd, by REV. JOHN McNEILL, of Cooke's Presbyterian Church, Toronto.

This world renowned preacher, who has held important church appointments in Glasgow, London and Liverpool, came to his Toronto charge early in the year.

He recited some of his experiences in Evangelistic labours which touched Australia, New Zealand. Tasmania, India, South Africa, Gibraltar, Malta and the United States. He defended the place and uses of the Evangelist in Church and City life; and vindicated naturalness in the clergy, justifying the use of humour in the highest of all work for human good.

Some vivid pictures of social and economic conditions in various parts of the Empire were amply sufficient to bring the speaker's topic well within the general range of Empire Club addresses.

CANADIAN ASSIMILATION

An Address by J. M. HARPER, M.A., PH.D., F.E.I.S., Quebec, to the Empire Club of Canada, Dec. 12th, 1913.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

You have had your lunch and now you would have something of a dessert, in a literary sort of a way, on Canadian assimilation. And when I am done serving up that dessert, some of you will probably be making a leisurely investigation of what I have said, and assume the attitude towards me and mine which Dr. Wallace, the parliamentary representative for Edinburgh in his day and generation, once took up in the House of Commons, after Mr. Gladstone had delivered one of his famous speeches on the Irish question, in something after these words:

"Mr. Speaker, when I was a boy attending school, there was an old gentleman friend of mine whose word I had to respect, who drummed into my head until it got there, that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle were equal, and that if the equal sides were produced the angles on the other side of the base were also equal. Now, Mr. Speaker, the right honourable gentleman, who has just taken his seat, has proven to us all that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are not equal, and that if the equal sides be produced the angles on the other side of the base are not equal either. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, may I be allowed to ask what I am to do about the matter. Indeed, what can I do? What am I in duty bound to do, other than to bow my head in submission, and resume my seat in this honourable assembly, with all dutiful respect to what the right honourable leader of this House has just said." And forthwith the gifted member for Edinburgh resumed his seat amid the laughter of his associate members, leaving the proposition where Mr. Gladstone had left it.

And if I adopt the mathematical method in connection with the discussion of this momentously important question of Canadian assimilation, I may be twitted, as Mr. Gladstone once was, since we have never yet been able safely to apply the mathematical method to the solution of an ethical question of this kind. Yet, I may perhaps be allowed by you, to follow as far as it is possible, the discussion of this same ethical question along the lines of a geometrical proposition, in a loose kind of a way, from the enunciation to the *quod erat demonstrandum* of the thing. First of all there is the enunciation. Then you have to keep in the tail end of your eye the postulates and axioms; and I need hardly tell you that if you keep straight with these down through the proof, you are very likely to come out all right. Thus we must first of all get emphasized in our minds what this question of Canadian Assimilation means at its basis—this most important question, ethical and national—which is facing our All-Canadianism of the day. If I were to give the enunciation in common ordinary English, many of you would no doubt turn up your eyebrows and say: "What is the use of bringing a fellow all the way from Quebec to tell us in Toronto the things we all know so well?" Therefore, if you will bear with me, I proceed to enunciate my problem and yours in verse, so that you will be able to carry it with you down through the plan of what I have to say on it.

The nation is first, as race seeketh blend
  With race in pursuit of some common end:
Next to God is it first; and the plea is accurst
  That fosters a bias, its claims to obtend.

And again:—

From brother to brother, the nation is ours,
  As together we labour, enhancing its powers:
With duties apace, and with race aiding race,
  'Tis a Commonwealth's shrine we would garland with flowers.

And last of all:—

The fiat's gone forth, a Nation we'd be—
  The land, as we sing, of a people born free:
And duties apace, with race joining race,
  'Tis a one from the many our Empire we'd see. (Applause.)

And there in a nutshell is the great problem, the greatest of all other ethical problems which Canada, in its present incoherences of population, has to take up in its own behalf.

And then come the axioms or postulates or self-evident truths there are to guide us in our investigation—and here again some of you may be inclined to put your tongue in your cheek at the inviting of a speaker to enunciate such simple truths as these:

First, Canada, as it stands to-day, is the biggest country in the world, excepting neither the United States, nor either of the great divisions of the Russian Empire. Have you thought of it as such, as borne out by the measuring-rod of the surveyor? Canada, the very largest country in the world!

Second, Canada enjoys, under the Union Jack, the widest and most influential empire-prestige the world has ever known. Are there any amongst us who fail to appreciate that momentous self-evident truth?

Third, Canada has in sight a future for itself which sometimes takes our breath away, as we contemplate the "one from the many" it is on the way of being, with no jealousy from our next-door neighbour to hinder it, and let us hope no parochial or racial prejudice to stand in its way.

Would you have me dwell on these three axioms or momentous self-evident truths? Has there not been perhaps more than enough said about Canada's present-day status and progress? Are we not all convinced of the vastness of our home-realm, with its wealth-producing resources duly tabulated and commented on, and with its threads of government binding province to province and their hinterlands into one nominal whole? And are we not all by this time fully convinced that the Empire-prestige which has come to us as if by birthright, has to be made to develop, under the Providence of God and international quietude—not into a congeries of stand-aloof enervating ethical segregations that ever lead to a loss of communal influence—but as an *imperium in imperio,* a veritable nation, sharing in all the rights and privileges of a consolidated Empire, and giving sanction to the grand and glorious future that is coming to it, with every kind of patriotic effort on our own part to mature it.

And no less are the present conditions within the area of this biggest country of ours being brought to our attention by the press and platform and other processes of publicity within and without our borders. Does not every transatlantic steamship, as it moors at Halifax, St. John, Quebec, or Montreal, with its shipload of immigrants, give a filip to our patriotism, to make an inventory of the various and varying elements of population seeking entrance within our gates? Have we been asking ourselves in all seriousness what we ought to do towards making Canadian citizens out of such? What have we as yet done to bring about a national blend of the desirables and undesirables of all "people's and nations and tongues" that have been and are being dumped into the vacant places of our country to find homes for themselves? Are our efforts to make sound Canadian citizens of such of the isosceles triangle kind —with the effort equal to the necessity—or of the scalene kind with a long side here and a sharp angle there?

Not long ago I went into a barber shop in Oakland, California, to have my hair trimmed; and as the operator, who happened to be the owner of the establishment, kept snip-snapping at my locks, his accent gave me a little problem all my own to work out, as to what European country he had come from. I knew at once he was not of French origin, nor German nor Italian, as I silently applied the usual tests; and eventually, before he laid down his scissors, I came to the conclusion that he must be of Spanish birth. "You are a Spaniard, are you not?" I asked him. "No," he answered, "I am a Portuguese." But I am not likely ever to forget the light that came into his eyes as I stood congratulating myself on coming so near in my guessing, and when he said with respectful emphasis, "Now, I am an American citizen."

As something of a contrast to this, I may say that on a street car in Toronto the other day I came in contact with a conductor who had quite a flavour of the heather about his words, and I said to him, "You are Scotch, are you not?" "Yes," he said. "But you are a Canadian now," I remarked, though a shrug of the shoulders with the trace of a protest in it was all I got from him, as I reached the ground and he went on with his car. And I said to myself, that man has certainly to work and wander around in Canada for some time to come yet, to discover that he is no longer only a Scotsman but a Canadian as well. And in these two experiences there is to be seen what this problem of assimilation really means, or how momentous it is for us all that these thousands that are being landed every year by the shipload in our country are going to be matured as wholesome Canadians in their home life as well as in our communal organizations. And it is for us wholesome Canadians to quicken, as far as we may, the ethical forces that may most readily tend to assimilate the incoming millions as well as those already within the boiling-pot of our immatured affiliations. Are these newcomers arriving in our midst, merely to see what kind of neighbours we Canadians are making of ourselves? No, sir, they are coming out to Canada to see what kind of neighbours they can make of themselves near us, under improved monetary conditions. It is the commercial spirit that is forcing them to come to us.

I suppose, when you were coming up or down the street to-day to this luncheon, you took no notice of whether the stock of the Canadian Pacific was rising or falling, seeing you have taken that resolution of yours to forego dealing in margins, since you were last bitten. That little changing figure which so disturbs the soul of the man who deals in margins, is like the little figure that used to disturb us at school when we took note of it at the right hand top of the "(x-y)" of our algebraic experiences—the exponent we had to valuate with caution if we would be correct in our calculations. And the going up or down of a margin in stocks is none other than the exponent of the most influential ethical force in the world to-day, namely, the commercial spirit. And, in giving credit to the commercial spirit for what good it can do and has done towards the bettering of the world, we would not think for a moment to close our eyes to the evil it has done. Mr. President, we all know by this time that there is good and bad in every ethical force in the world, just as there is good and bad in every one of us. Nature expresses herself by lights and shades; and if the good book tells us that the love of money is the root of all evil, it does not say a word against the making of it or the using of it as a means of fulfilling a truly philanthropic or patriotic purpose. And the press and pulpit and platform may say what they like about the waywardnesses of the commercial spirit, it is undoubtedly the most regenerating ethical force in the world to-day, for the lifting mankind into a higher way of living in his housekeeping, his respectability, and generous inclinations.

No later than yesterday, a friend of mine brought me to the point of discerning the millionaire as the medium through which a people can be brought to apply their energies and mental activities towards solving for themselves the problem of national assimilation. He told me something I had never even suspected, and you will all be perturbed as much as I was on learning that, when John D. Rockefeller in former days gave a million to college or other philanthropy, he generally contrived to have a cent put on the price of oil. And when we trace this back, be it true or false, it certainly locates the millionaire as a medium for the benefiting of mankind, as we all ought to be. We are all mediums. We are all working or idling in a circle, and what we have to-day is taken from us eventually and goes right back into the ocean of ethical influences that are around us. (Applause.)

Yes, of a truth, the millionaire is a medium, and one of the purposes of my addressing you to-day is to emphasize that fact so that every one of you may go out as a missionary in the enterprise of getting the millionaires of Toronto and elsewhere all over Canada to promote this much needed assimilation in our Canadianism. A few of our millionaires have already set the fashion, and it is for all of us to encourage the keeping of it up.

And there are ever so many other ethical forces we must get agoing besides the commercial spirit for the uplifting of the nation, each of which demands a dissertation all for itself. For instance, there is the school and the church. Then there is the political influence, and the literary intuition. And by-and-bye we have to consider what such an institution as this Empire Club of ours stands for, namely, the *imperium in imperio* idea—not the idea that we are going to tie ourselves on as a tail-end of a next door neighbour for the sake of trading expectations; not the idea that we are going to be an independent something or other, before we have the means of maintaining that independence. No, Mr. President, with us it is Britain on the one side and Canada on the other, with Britain for Canada and Canada for Britain, equal and opposite, just as in a well balanced isosceles triangle. (Applause.)

Canada has quite a distance to travel before it can have a Canadian National School, after the fashion of the republic to the south of us. The Act of Confederation stands in the way of our getting such a school, which is an assimilating force beyond all others perhaps, in the concrete, as far as ethical advancement is concerned in a national way. We have had hard enough work to get the free school in the most of our provinces. What then are we going to do to provide a substitute for this lack in our national equipment? We must have such a substitute: there is no way out of it. I am fain to believe that the day is not far distant when what has been done in Germany and Scotland and the United States to establish the best common school conceivable for the upbringing of all creeds and classes, is on the point of being looked upon as a necessity for the maturing of a common citizenship in Canada. Every all-and-sundry school located in Canada, call it parish school or national school, supported by the millionaire, as it may be, and supervised by the State, cannot but be an influential leading towards what Canada must have, if it would realize its future as a consolidating and assimilating nation within the British Empire.

Nor is there any mere talking in one's hat about this view of the case. There are thousands of children in the Canadian provinces who are not being reached by the public or private school; and, as we can easily surmise, the most of these are the children of the newcomers who have to settle in the remote country parts. In my own province a practical step is spoken of as being about to be taken to provide against there being even one child of school age passing out into manhood or womanhood without a knowledge of the three R's and a geographical and historical equipment sufficient to appreciate the three axioms I have spoken of in connection with Canada's status. An all-and-sundry school is in the way of being opened in Quebec, wherein all children who cannot have a school training within easy distance of their homes or for other reasons, are to be provided with the same and the comforts of a home, the expenses to be met from the sequestrations of wealth left by one of our multi-millionaires. Now, is there anything of a good omen in that? There is no lack of millionaires in Canada, even if money be tight just at the present moment. You have them in all our larger communities. Lord Strathcona is always on hand to give largely to our educational institutions. Sir William Macdonald has set apart several millions to give us the right kind of teacher to help us out of this difficulty, to make respectable Canadian citizens out of the little tots brought under proper influences of tuition. A few weeks ago, I was present at the laying of the corner stone of your splendid Technical School: Is not that to be a means toward what you would call assimilation of our Canadianism in a direct way. Down in Quebec our Premier has erected two such schools, one in Montreal and the other in Quebec, and has already conceived a policy of establishing such a school in all the populous centres of the province. (Applause.) And the millionaire is not going to be left out in this enterprise. Of course some of us will sit down and say that the millionaire should not spend so much in this way or in that way on himself; but it is not for us to care a snap of the finger how he spends his money on himself as long as he gives a due proportion of his accumulations back to the country that enabled him to acquire his wealth, to aid the nation to be what it expects to be in time. (Applause.) In a word, give us the commercial spirit in alliance with the school through our moneyed men, and Canada is sure to get there, as the saying is, in the near future.

It is not my intention to bring to your notice, in such a short time as is at my disposal, all the ethical forces that may or may not be directing their energies towards the maturing of national assimilation for us. Each of such would need an address for itself. For instance, there is the Christian Church. And here I will have to speak very cautiously if not demurely, since there are representatives of the church here, and they no doubt have ever so many ethical triangles of their own, isosceles or otherwise, to think well of, and it would never do for me to say whether the angles at the base of these are equal or not. The other night I was at a St. Andrew's gathering, the biggest I have ever seen in Quebec, and as we were singing the words of a little hymn I had written for the occasion to a well known tune, it did my heart good, and I could not help saying to myself: "Wouldn't it be possible for us to have an All-Canadian Church Social now and again during the year?" Or again, "Why could we not have a Sunday set apart in the year that we could call Commonwealth Sunday, when our clergymen might take common ground in telling us what they think of this momentous problem, and how we are going to lift ourselves eventually up into a communal Canadian citizenship?" If we had church union the problem would be all the easier of solution. If we had church union and a national school we would hardly need to bother ourselves very much about this problem of Canadian assimilation. It would come of itself. But we have neither the one nor the other; and we are not going to get either unless we exert ourselves as loyal Canadians to get both or their substitutes. And, so I leave the thought as a legacy with the clergymen here that we might have our Commonwealth Sunday, with little hymns appropriate for the occasion and inspiriting anthems composed by Canadians, and homilies pertinent to the affairs of our country, with everything just as we would want it, to bring that little bit of nervousness into the corners of our eyes, so as to make ourselves and our incoming neighbours exclaim; "My, what a fine thing it is to feel that one is a Canadian." (Applause.)

There is an isosceles triangle in our Canadian ethics, which you have noticed, I am sure, but which you do not say much about, unless when an election comes round. One day, as a boy, I was passing down the Salt Market in Glasgow, and there was a woman on this side of the street and a woman on the other side, and they were having it out in right royal style. They would run back to the wall and then out as far as the curbstone, reiterating what they would do if they only could get closer at each other. By-and-bye the climax came as they rushed across the street and met one another in a vacant part of the thoroughfare; and then there was an isosceles triangle formed with a vengeance, concerning which the police had to decide whether the angles at the base of it were equal or not, with the two combatants' hair in one another's hands. Have we any such a picture in our Canadian ethics? Here is the commercial instinct or spirit, the greatest of ethical forces, running along this greatest of highways of ours from Halifax to Vancouver—the highway to be between Europe and Asia—and has your eye ever lit upon a personage on this side of that thoroughfare shaking his fist at his fellow countryman on the other side of it; and have you ever marvelled at the rush that was made by them at one another when an election was on, to seize whatever was within reach and tear at it until the policeman, in the shape of the returning officer, sent them back each to their own sidewalk or party organization to rail at one another at a distance until another election season came round? Isn't such a conventialism all wrong? How can we expect to promote an assimilation in our citizenship, with so many unsound parochialists daring each other all the year round from their respective sidewalks, with the worst name in their gift to throw at one another? My own clergyman the other Sunday told us all from the pulpit that the one side in the game of Canadian politics was as bad as the other, with no mention made of the good there was in party government. Had he it in mind to erect an isosceles triangle all for himself in our Canadian ethics? And would he have no difficulty in showing that the angles at the base of such a triangle were equal? I leave the matter with you to decide. One thing is patent to us all surely by this time, that some influence has to be brought to bear on our political conventionalisms, in order to lift our public life a little, if not a great deal, higher on the plane of its activities, if we would have from our politicians all the aid we need to assimilate our Canadianism in the way it should be assimilated.

> The nation is first, and the plea is accurst
> That fosters a bias, its claims to obtend. (Applause.)

Indeed if we keep that enunciation of our problem in the corner of our patriotism we are sure to get there, as the saying goes, in good time.

I would like to refer to our Canadian literary spirit as an ethical force working towards Canadian assimilation. But there isn't time. We are being moved by it to sing our own songs and tell our own stories at our Canadian firesides. But what are we doing beyond that? We have to step in and help out the solving of the problem out yonder in the great western prairie country. There is a wholesome Canadianism in a place like Toronto. I have never had it in my mind to find fault with Torontonians for failing to assert themselves as Canadians, other than after the manner of the street-car conductor I met yesterday. They are Canadians and embody a lesson for the East as well as the West. Down in Quebec, I have a friend who reads the newspaper in Ontario which has always a grievance in English against the French-Canadian, and I have another friend who lives at the other end of the town who has faith in every word L'Action Sociale utters, and I am glad enough at times that these two friends of mine live with a ward or two between them. In fact if they did get together—both of them Canadians, both born in Canada—I am sure I don't know what kind of a triangle would come from their meeting. And so there I leave the matter, believing that in time the two of them will come to understand one another better. Why should any Ontarian and French-Canadian not be as good comrades as the Boer of South Africa and his English-speaking neighbour? Citizenship means comradeship, civic comradeship, and there is no reason why these two elements in our population should not be as good comrades as one would wish to see, both anxious to share in the assimilating of our Canadianism.

And whatever may be said about the Canadian press in the matter of its party pleadings, with the ferule of the schoolmaster in its hands, we all feel assured of the consensus it would promote on this question of national assimilation. And the same may safely be said of our Canadian Clubs which are being established everywhere throughout the land. These clubs are certainly the efficient handmaidens to the commercial spirit—practical in their efficiency, keeping down the cobwebs and parochialisms and otherwise making the house, as far as may be, clean and tidied-up, for the coming of our common citizenship, as a tenant of assured and assuring loyalty.

Then we have our Dominion Day and our Empire Day and our Victoria Day, as a following up of the idea of a St. Andrew's Day and a St. George's Day and a St. Patrick's Day and St. Jean Baptiste Day; and I myself have been in at the inauguration of the All-Canadian Evening, during which may be indulged in the singing and reciting what of a patriotic literature we have. Mr. W. K. Chesterton says, in his "What is the Matter with the World," that Canada, according to some, may be expected to produce a literature, which is like saying that Canada must soon come into growing a moustache. But Canada has already a literature of its own quite capable of fructifying in us all the patriotic spirit, if we Canadians would only take advantage of it. Therefore let us by all means have our All-Canadian Evenings whenever practicable. Let us sing our Canadian songs and tell our Canadian stories, and recite our Canadian poems whenever and wherever the natural art within us will allow. In the rehearsal that is not ashamed of such songs and recitals, nor in the founding of such an institution as Commonwealth Sunday, there is sure to be found the very strongest of ethical forces to bring the uprising generation of Canadians to realize at once all that there is in Canada for them as a motherland, and that their very own.

And in addressing this Empire Club, the second axiom must have a final short word from me at this time, namely, that Canada enjoys, under the Union Jack, the widest and most influential empire-prestige the world has ever known. It would be scant courtesy to you, its members, not to acknowledge your convictions that what your society stands for is as much of an ethical force —a drawing of us-up-out-of-ourselves force, out of even our broadest parochialisms, as it were,—for the maturing of a Canadian patriotism of the very broadest kind, as is the commercial spirit.

It is not for me to tabulate in your hearing during our short session the various arguments in favour of Empire Consolidation. I have only to say that the following up of your advocacies as an Empire Club from year to year cannot but further, even as non-official reflex, a powerful influence in our attaining to the fuller national life. What a proud position is would be were we to become legal claimants of Britain's empire-prestige, by paying our share in the upholding of that prestige. By an immediate and direct payment of thirty-five millions or so, we could have all the naval and empire protection we want or need to-morrow morning, claiming it as our own, as well as being given it cheerfully, with all the advantage on our side.

Look at that flag, ours in common with every British subject—look at it and say what the design in the corner of it means to all of us—English, Irish, Scotch, French, German, as well as those who have lately joined us from across the line! Is the Union Jack of Old England not our very own flag? Is the statesmanship and patriotism of the British Empire not our very own statesmanship and patriotism? And does not the defence of the whole Empire mean our very own defence? The more invulnerable the Empire is, the more invulnerable is Canada. And what resident in Canada, what short-sighted Canadian, with the microbes of parochialism and secondary prejudices, racial or otherwise, playing hide-and-go-seek in his undeveloped patriotism, is there who would have this Empire of ours decline? What Canadian is there who can bear with patience to think of his being called upon in his day and generation, or of his children's children in their day and generation being called upon, to read the opening chapter of the Decline and Fall of the British Empire? We all know that the prestige of British Empire, like all other things, has to advance or decline. There is no standing still for it. Come, then, is there a Canadian who would have the prestige of the British Empire decline before Canada has come into her own as a full grown nation, possessed of a common and self-assimilated citizenship? There is the problem of the day within its wider problem, if you will. Canada is Britain's first-born! Would any of us wish to see the ethical problem we have in hand, now and for many years to come, solved by having that first-born betray his own future by refusing to back up his mother's past? No, sir, the angles at the base of such an ethical triangle as Canada for Britain and Britain for Canada are equal; and no matter how far the equal and equalizing sides of such a triangle be produced by the commercial spirit or any other ethical force, we know that the angles on the other side of our Canadian common-sense and outlook are going to give us the sympathetic equalizations of Canadian aggrandisement and Empire aggrandisement as collaterals in Canada's course towards its nationhood in the approaching future.

And now, by way of a final word, let me focus my main idea in the theoretic history of an Englishman or Scotchman or Irishman or any other of the newcomers who are coming to Canada to prove what kind of neighbours they propose to make of themselves. Let us select any one of them and try to foretell the history of the good amongst them. Isn't this what we may possibly hear for the first year or so of the new Canadian's life?

Listen! He is singing a lilt of the past something like this, as he goes to the plough and comes home in the evening and allows the thoughts of the fatherland or motherland he has left to float within the nooks and corners of his memory:

My native land, a debt of song I pay,
  A debt of love that lieth on my soul,
When memory draws the veil of bygone day,
  And olden music greets the lifting scroll.
A tribute to thy freedom's faith I bring,
The piety that scents thy glebe I sing,—
  Thy purple hills, whose silver mists unroll
The waving gold of dawn, thy lowing plains
And hawthorn banks and braes where hamlet meekness reigns.

And by-and-bye, while he keeps up his industry—his plowing and sowing and reaping—and does everything to emphasize his comradeship with his Canadian neighbours, he comes into the heirship of a broader patriotic feeling, and possibly we can hear him singing some such a sentiment as this in his own emotional way:

A nation's love in gentle diapason wakes
  The land to sing in chorus Jubilee:
Prestige gains strength, a rising tide, and breaks
  Around our flag its spray of loyalty.
A pomp of urgency love craveth not,
  Since bloom it may whatever be its lot:
  Yet rouse ye loyal! In the love that's free,
Find strength of heart and ecstacy of song,
Whose laughter's like the tide that murmurs sweet and strong.

In time, his developing fuller patriotism he would have his children assume as their own, urging them to acknowledge themselves the children of the Empire, in words akin to these though perhaps less uplift in tone:

Sing ye the songs of greatness born of love,
  The harmony of power from reign to reign,
Gift of the Sovereignty that rules above,
  Gift of the centuries growing young again:
Sing ye the majesty of British right,
Sing ye the power within an Empire's might:
  The strains that glorify our king and queen
Are but the symbols of the uplifting lay—
The harmony of life that's born of liberty.

And before long the church he attends and the school his children go to form the nucleus of his new life, bringing to him its Commonwealth Sunday as it may be, on the one hand, and its All-Canadian programmes of Canadian literary product on the other, and before he knows it himself he will be found joining with his children and his neighbours in singing some such a verse as this, dear to every Canadian heart as it cannot but be:

> Though other skies may be as bright,
> And other lands as fair,
> Though charms of other climes invite
> Our wandering footsteps there;
> Yet there is one the peer of all,
> Beneath bright heaven's dome;
> Of thee I sing, O happy land,
> My own Canadian home. (Applause.)

A CHRISTMASTIDE CLUB NIGHT

As a new departure for the Christmas season, and to promote the feeling of good fellowship among the members of the Empire Club, a Social Evening was arranged for Friday, Dec. 19, from 6 to 9 at the Palm Room of our usual rendezvous, Col. James Mason, presiding.

There was a good attendance.

The following Programme was carried out:—

Patriotic Song .... "Stand Fast"
Mr. M. L. Rathbun

Address: "The Vancouver Island Riots, Causes and Effects, with some instances, by an eyewitness"
J. R. Roaf, Esq., K.C.

Old Nautical Ballad .... "The Bay of Biscay"
Mr. Geo. Coles

Address: "Progress of the Pacific Provinces, a short review of a Trip to British Columbia"
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.

Nautical Song .... "The Captain's Eye"
Mr. Percy D. Ham

Address .... "A Nuisance Knight in Toronto"
Hon. James Craig, President

Christmas Carols ....By Ye Olde English Choir
Arranged by Albert Ham, Esq., Mus. Doc.

GOD SAVE THE KING

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE CANADIAN MILITIA FOR DEFENCE

An Address by Major Genl. Sir William D. Otter, K.C.B., C.V.O., before the Empire Club of Canada, 15th January, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I have to most cordially thank you for the honour of inviting me to address you to-day, but fear that disappointment may be your lot, as neither the gift nor power of imparting my ideas in a convicing form is at my disposal.

The subject selected happens to be the only one that I feel at all qualified to speak on, and if I here refer to my military services it is not with the purpose of advertising such, but solely to show you that I am not assuming a claim to knowledge without fairly good reasons.

To my lot has fallen a very close connection with the Canadian Militia for upwards of fifty years, during which I passed through all the ranks from Private to Major General; taking part in three campaigns, in each of them seeing actual fighting, besides the experience of marches in the ice and snow of our own North-West, and the heat and rains of South Africa. I know also the discomforts of the battlefield and hospitals, through wounds.

Coming to peaceful conditions, I have perhaps had more experiences in Canadian Military Camps than any member of the force, and to these may be added various attendances at manœuvres in England, Germany and the United States: thereby obtaining opportunities of comparing the regular and volunteer troops of those nations with our own, particularly the last named.

Thus equipped, I venture to speak publicly for the first time upon "The Efficiency of the Canadian Militia for Defence," although I have twice made official reports upon lines similar to those I shall now express.

My sole aim is to place this important subject before you in as clear and lucid a manner as my capability will permit; without bias or exaggeration or any reflection upon the many ardent and patriotic men who have served, or may now be serving, in the Militia force of Canada.

The task before me is by no means an easy one, as any remarks that savour of encouragement to a military spirit are likely to be met by strong opposition in many quarters, probable criticism, and mayhap ridicule.

The idea that the time is fast approaching when all national disputes will be settled by peaceful arbitration appears to me an extremely fallacious one and most dangerous of adoption.

The only really safe belief is that "Peace can only be secured through ability to resist aggression," and with such conviction I feel in duty bound as a Canadian to urge to the full extent of my power the necessity for the development of our Militia in accordance with that precept.

A prominent and experienced officer of the British Army has thus expressed himself upon the Empire:

"The primary duty of every self-governing portion of Great Britain is to make all reasonable provision up to the limits of its resources for defence against invasion of its own territories. If it fails, and relies rather upon its brothers over the seas than its own right arm, it is unworthy of its independence."

And again he enlarges upon the assertion by stating:

"That home defence comes first, and the chief military problem which Canada has to find a solution for, is how to organize her manhood so as to give herself a reasonable security against aggression."

Against such sentiments I do not imagine any objection will be taken.

May I now approach the subject in another phase.

War is no doubt a terrible affliction, and the earnest hope that means may be found for the aversion of such a scourge, a most natural one.

But when a diagnosis is made of the composition of the human body and mind, in which the spirits of aggression, oppression and possession, with their attributes of envy, hatred and malice exist in what may be termed a predominating extent, there appears but little promise of any amelioration of the evil that is so devoutly desired.

In animals, birds, fish and reptiles are found the same traits; and can it therefore be doubted that in each case they were not so placed and ordained for a special purpose, to continue so long as this world lasts?

What is the natural impulse in either man or beast when aggrieved or oppressed? The answer is easy, to fight with the weapons which intelligence or nature has provided.

What induces the desire in man to oppress or possess? The acquisition of something that the one has and the other has not; be it in the form of land, money, metals, increasing power or numbers.

Allowing this apparent truth, it may safely be concluded that the greater our prosperity the greater the danger of loss, and the stronger the necessity for means of protection.

We see examples of this in every phase of life from the individual with his revolver near at hand during the hours of darkness or alone, to the nation with its army and navy.

Why do Australia, New Zealand and South Africa educate their sons for the service of defence? The reply is not difficult: they recognize the trend of human passions and fear aggression. Are not the same dangers to be feared for Canada? Yes, one may with safety say, doubly so.

Now, it may be asked has Canada reached a stage in which she may be classed among the rich and prosperous; likely to be thought worthy of possession, or become an object of envy by other nations?

I think that we shall all agree that very few countries equal her in resources, prospective wealth, increase of numbers and power.

Can it be assumed that Canadians have no sentiment, and will be content to serve under any flag, or be governed by any class, creed or colour, so long as permitted to individually accrue riches in ease and comfort?

I cannot place my compatriots in so low a scale of humanity as to think such is their temperament.

Lastly, I would inquire, are we so contented, happy and proud of our glorious inheritance as to strive for its retention in our own hands, and under present conditions?

Again I feel sure of your support in affirming that we are ready to fight for the continuance of our present constitution, inheritance, and flag, to the bitter end.

With such determination in view let us now analyze the situation and learn in what condition we are in to successfully maintain such a patriotic resolve.

At the present moment we have available for the purpose the Army and Navy of Great Britain and our own Militia, a combination that might naturally be thought fit to cope with any nation likely to attack us single handed.

Unfortunately, however, nations do not choose to engage in despoiling others, when the objective is strong and able to defend itself, but rather delays until the victim is under a handicap and certain to be more or less easily subjugated.

The time of real danger then for Canada will arise through the Mother Country becoming involved in Europe or elsewhere, and is unable to assist us with either Army or Navy, or only to a very limited extent. A contingency that is liable to happen at any moment, and constantly imminent.

Under such circumstances we shall then have to depend upon our own Militia for the country's safety.

As I shall now deal with the Militia only, the question may be asked: For what purpose is it maintained? The reply is: Obviously for defence: for if only to guard against internal troubles; we have been and are throwing vast sums away annually, because such bodies as the N.W.M.P. are fully capable of dealing with riots, while the personnel of the Militia is least of all adapted to such work for obvious reasons.

We are now arriving at the crucial point of my address, viz., to what extent is our Militia prepared to alone undertake the task of repelling an invader?

Its present strength is roughly 4,000 officers and 50,000 men, a total of 54,000, divided, governed and administered in accordance with the system adopted by the British Army; and for the purposes of training their strength the necessary guns, rifles, ammunition, clothing and equipment are available and serviceable.

However, no one for a moment can suppose that this comparatively small force would be found capable of holding its own against an enemy well armed, equipped, disciplined, trained, and of the strength that an invader would certainly prepare for the conquest of Canada.

It is the undeniable opinion of competent British authorities that the task of protecting Canada needs at least a force of 9,000 officers, and 250,000 men, so that after deducting our present numbers there would remain the large balance of 5,000 officers and 200,000 men to be found immediately on the outbreak of hostilities, together with a full complement of arms, ammunition, equipment and food, as well as the means of moving these necessary accessories; and then, to follow with the assembly of a Reserve of officers and men equal to half the above, from which to replace casualties occurring through death, wounds and disease; contingencies that follow in the path of war with amazing rapidity, particularly the latter.

Having so far been general in my remarks, let me now go more into detail, and endeavour to show you the principal difficulties to be encountered in placing our Militia in a fit state to perform the duty required for effective defence.

These may be classified as follows:

1. Personnel.
2. Material.
3. Transport.
4. Training.
5. Discipline.

Taking each of these subjects in rotation I will proceed to elaborate upon them in as few words as possible.

In the matter of Personnel (Officers and Men) our deficiencies and requirements have perhaps astonished you; but they are real nevertheless, and the most important factor in any scheme of defence must certainly be a sufficiency of officers and men.

In finding the men when the occasion requires, I do not think much difficulty will arise save in their training. But in the case of officers we face an apparently hard problem, for even now with our small establishment the trouble of procuring them is very great, while that of their training is much more so for the reason of the individual time and means necessary to prepare themselves for their responsible duties—when the number has to be suddenly doubled with no time available for education, the situation becomes alarming.

An officer, like a business or professional man, or a mechanic, must know his job: because in his hands are the lives of men, and if not trained to a knowledge of his responsibilities, and a preparation enabling him to meet them under varying circumstances, he is worse than useless.

I will now go on to the subject of "Material" under which is included such articles as Arms, Ammunition, Clothing, and Equipment, all of which I have intimated must be at hand when the personnel has been obtained. This, for the existing force, I admit, is available and serviceable, but with increase to war conditions the deficiency was found by General Sir Ian Hamilton at his official inspection in June last as under:

Guns, 300 (60 under order).
Machine guns, 287 (50 under order).
Rifles, 100,000.
Ammun., guns, 250,000 rds. (50,000 under order).
    "   small arms, 150,000,000.
Clothing (suits), 200,000.
Knapsacks, 120,000.
Water bottles, 140,000.
Mess tins, 150,000.

In this list I have only noted such articles as require special manufacture and are not obtainable at a moment's notice; for blankets, rubber sheets, entrenching tools and tents, all necessary on mobilization, and more or less now short in numbers, have not been included, as they are easily procurable when needed.

My next subject is "Transport," or the means of moving supplies and stoves from rail head to the various bodies of troops in the field, for which purpose horses and mechanical transport in the form of motor-driven vehicles are the usual means.

Of the latter there are a large number, but I fear that roads fitted for their necessities are lacking, and therefore horses would likely have to be resorted to almost entirely.

Of that useful beast, the horse, there would be required alone for the transport services of our war forces at least 35,000—a small number to find, you will say, when told that there are something like 2,500,000 horses in the country.

But the difficulty that will here stare us in the face is that no system of registration is now in operation by which suitable animals could be quickly procured, or without deranging ordinary business requirements, consequently serious congestion would ensue.

I now come to the question of "Training." Under present conditions this consists of 9 actual days for the Cavalry and Infantry and 12 days for the other branches in each of the three years' enlistment: but as our population is a shifting one, it follows that the larger number of the men do not remain for more than two years with their units and therefore receive only from 18 to 24 days' training according to the branch to which they belong.

The importance of training for both officers and men may, in the words of an authority upon the subject, be summarized thus: "A sound system of training, like a good organization, must be built up systematically from the bottom."

In Switzerland where a militia system is adopted, the training of the recruit lasts for several weeks before he is permitted to engage in Company, Battalion or Brigade work. Again in Australia, the militiaman begins as a boy of 14, and before being considered fit to take his place in the lowest ranks of a Battalion, has had equal to 150 days. In the Territorial force of Great Britain the very least time it is considered a man can be made fit for the duties of defence is 180 days.

Compare these examples with our requirements of 36 days at most, but of which we seldom obtain more than 24, and that of a somewhat desultory character in the endeavour to give a smattering of every phase of military service, and the result is a confirmation of the adage, "A little learning is a dangerous thing," for that "smattering" creates the impression of full knowledge.

Another weakness in our training system is the lack of suitable grounds for the purpose, particularly in Eastern Canada where the bulk of our forces exist. Only one such can be found up to the mark, viz., Petewawa, while for the troops centreing on London, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, St. John and Halifax, the practice of drill, rifle shooting and manœuvres are restricted to areas varying from 200 to 1,000 acres in their respective neighbourhoods, a condition in itself which renders abortive any successful attempt in the efficient education of our force.

The final subject in our category of deficiencies is Discipline which has perhaps a greater bearing upon success in war than it is credited with; for without this quality victory or defeat will be equally dangerous, as in either case troops will get out of hand and the unity of the military machine disappear.

Discipline essentially means obedience to authority, and imparts a reliable courage which would be otherwise wanting to large bodies of men. In peace time laxness of discipline causes inconvenience, annoyance, and trouble; in war it means ruin and disaster.

Real discipline cannot be made to order. It must spring from a frequent practice in the art of obedience which grows by degrees into a tradition.

Any number of instances might be given you in proof of the enormous value of this trait did time permit, and for our own case, nowhere can better examples of failures through its absence be found than in the History of the Civil War in the United States.

The prominent weaknesses in the discipline of the Canadian Militia Force are not apparent on the outside, nor do they consist in the commission of serious crimes or exhibitions of rank insubordination; but rather in the evasion of duties and responsibilities, the performance of which cannot be avoided without disjointing the whole structure of military efficiency—the principal cause of this deficiency can be traced to ignorance of the danger and to the laxness of youthful training.

From my rather hasty synopsis of the situation can it be claimed that the Canadian Militia in its present condition guarantees immunity from attack or conquest by a powerful aggressor?

The situation is briefly this: Canada, rich and prosperous, with a frontier extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the 9th parallel to the North Pole, vulnerable on all sides, requires by expert computation a force of 250,000 trained officers and men, with their attendant Reserve, Arms, Equipment and Transport, to ensure her safety from aggression under probable circumstances. While against these obligations for safety her only present asset is a Militia Force of under 55,000 practically untrained and barely equipped.

The Militia Force itself has seemingly but little conception of its weakness or is lulled into a blind belief in its efficiency by the plaudits of admiring friends at a ceremonial or church parade; yet a greater evil appears in that the public, busily engaged in private affairs, remains totally unconcerned and oblivious to the dangers which its own enterprise are creating.

Is the all-important question of safety being treated as a business proposition and insurance provided against probable loss?

Are we not partaking of the habits of the ostrich who, when pursued, sticks his little head in the sand and imagines that safety for his great body is thus attained?

Would it not be better to unite with our friends who see universal peace in sight, abolish the militia and save the expense of maintaining an organization that without adequate support can only be the means of a useless waste of life?

You may ask what is the best remedy for our apparent neglect, supposing we eventually awaken to the danger of our position.

I venture to assert that the most economical and effective mode of meeting the deficiencies classed under "Personnel," "Training" and "Discipline" is by the adoption of the Australian system, that is, Compulsory Military Training in Schools and Universities; because from these sources we can secure both officers and men possessed of a fair knowledge of the rudiments of drill and discipline, thus forming a solid foundation upon which to prosecute further advancement.

Doubtless many of you will at once say: Are not our Schools and Universities now engaged in this very work?

Quite true, but under what conditions, and to what extent?

The Cadet and Officers' Training Corps are purely voluntary organizations, therefore if the parents of the boy and young man are opposed to anything in the way of military instruction, and there are many such, their sons will naturally forbear from becoming cadets.

As an example of the correctness of my contention:

A return published in November last shows that only 5 per cent. of the boys attending schools throughout the Dominion belong to Cadet Corps. Universities assist to a less degree than even the schools in this desirable direction.

A patriotic citizen (Major Leonard) is endeavouring to encourage the prosecution of Military Training amongst the students of Queen's University by the contribution of a large sum of money for the necessary land and buildings, but why should a matter affecting the safety of the country be left alone to patriotic and public spirited individuals?

I repeat, what is necessary is compulsory education in drill and discipline for all boys at school, with the higher military education necessary for officers at the universities on similar conditions.

Such a course will likely induce the cry of "Militarism" and strong opposition; but does not every male inhabitant owe some return to his country for the air he breathes, the land that feeds him and the flag which protects him?

Is the education that will improve a lad's mental, moral and physical condition, and prepare him for the duty of defending his country if occasion arises, to be dubbed and denounced "Militarism?"

My designation for such a service is "Patriotism," and for it no other is applicable.

A word or two respecting the Reserve.

Its functions, I have said, are to supply the "waste" in officers and men, and no army would feel safe in taking the field without such a backing.

To obtain a Reserve in our case we should naturally take advantage of a clause in the Militia Act which prescribes that the whole male population between the ages of 18 and 60 is liable for military service. But in resorting to this means we should find a lamentable condition as no rolls or lists are kept of those to be detailed for this service, and as a consequence delay and confusion would ensue at a time when such could least be tolerated.

With respect to Training Areas, the acquisition of this indispensable adjunct to training will doubtless entail expense, but the outlay is fully justified, and delay will not help matters from a pecuniary point of view.

The several provinces could fairly be asked to assist in this direction.

Touching the subject of "Material."

Steps have already been taken in this country for the manufacture of small arms and ammunition; but for that of big guns and their ammunition we are obliged to depend upon Great Britain, and if she is engaged elsewhere, our own ports will likely be closed to the supply of any further assistance in that direction.

We must be self-contained.

Presuming we continue to "drift" what will be the result? In most undertakings time is an outstanding factor, but in none so important as military operations, and the nation that has not foreseen and arranged every detail for the mobilization of its forces immediately on the outbreak of hostilities will surely suffer severely for its procrastination.

Are we not cultivating the belief that we are fit and capable for any military strain coincident with invasion?

Are we not encouraging a rude awakening to find ourselves far short of such a consummation, with the result irreparable loss to us of all most dear and precious?

THE AGRICULTURE OF THE PROVINCE

An Address by C. C. JAMES, ESQ., C.M.G., LL.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, Jan. 23, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Over the entrance of the temple of Apollo at Delphi there were two Greek words which in English are "Know Thyself." It is uncertain who was the author, but that is unimportant. I doubt if any greater truth was ever uttered outside of the Holy Scriptures than those two Greek words, Know Thyself. I am not a descendant of the wise men of Greece, but in these modern days I would add to that this, "Know thy country, it's people, its powers and its possibilities." (Applause.) If we could only instil that into the minds and thoughts, particularly of the young people of this country, we would need to have little or no anxiety as to the future. And if we are going to do that we must certainly not exclude the study of agriculture, its conditions, its scope, and its possibilities. I read in one of the morning papers to-day two items. One was headed in large black type, "Big Increase in Canada's Exports." In nine months the gain exceeded $80,000,000. Then away in a little corner was this: "No butter sent to Britain. For the first time in sixty years Canada exported no butter to Great Britain. About half a million pounds was exported to the United States, while butter imported from New Zealand amounted to almost six and a half million pounds." You cannot estimate these things by dollars and cents, nor by pounds. Statements of that kind need to be understood to be appreciated; they require a knowledge of the principles underlying the agriculture of this country. Six and a half million pounds of butter from New Zealand, and every particle of it made up of air! The New Zealanders took air and water and made butter and shipped it over to us, and we apparently had to pay the price for it. And what about the other eighty million dollars of stuff sent out of the country? On paper it looks fine, it looks as though we have eighty million dollars more with which to pay our foreign debts. Perhaps we have, and perhaps we have not. Those amounts themselves do not tell the whole thing. It is possible that the eighty million dollars' worth of material we have sent abroad has cost a hundred or more million dollars. I give that as an illustration to suggest that it is important to us, whether we are living on the farms or in the city of Toronto, to understand the agriculture of this country, so that when questions of that kind come up we may not settle them with the lead pencil or pen on paper, but that we may be able to get behind them and know more thoroughly what principles are involved, and understand that after all there is something more than mere numbers to determine the destiny of this country. Agricultural knowledge should be acceptable and should be put before the people of our towns and cities. Continually our newspapers are advising that the people in the country should be taught. I want to tell you there is about as much need that the people of our towns and cities should be instructed along agricultural lines, as the people in the country. Just let me fix that point in a moment or two. The minister who stands in the pulpit every Sunday is sadly handicapped in interpreting the Holy Scriptures if he does not know something of agriculture. All through the Old Testament the life is mainly pastoral life, and he who does not know the cattle and the sheep and the horses and their mode of life, more particularly as found in the great eastern countries, misses to a large extent the beauty and significance of the Old Testament. Then come to the New Testament; can anyone grasp or understand thoroughly the parables of Christ if he does not know something about the principles of the soil and the growing of the seed? The greatest lesson that was ever taught, the greatest parable, is founded upon agricultural work. And the man who goes out to teach the people, or who takes up the Holy Scriptures to read them for his own enjoyment and edification, and has no knowledge of agriculture, has his eyes more or less blinded to the truths contained therein. The old word "Pastor" that is sometimes used even at the present day,—the man who looks after his flock—suggests that after all the holy ministry is based or founded or may be understood only in these old agricultural and rural terms. And the rural problem! Think of sending out our ministers from the theological colleges to-day to take the pulpits in the country without giving them some special equipment in rural affairs. Can you imagine any more serious loss in the equipment of a man who is going to preach to rural people, than to fill him up with Greek and Latin and History and Homiletics and so on, and send him out to a rural constituency to minister to a rural people without giving him some knowledge of the life and the work of these people? How is he going to grasp the questions that are now becoming so important in connection with our rural life? My opinion is that every theological college in Canada from east to west ought to provide in some way for special instruction in rural sociology for the men who are going out to minister to the people. And the teachers, those who mould the boys and the girls in the school! We continually complain about the trend that is given toward University work and the professions, and what else could you expect unless the people who are teaching these boys and girls, the people who have their hands upon them, in many cases, for a longer period of time than their own parents? How could it be otherwise, unless these people in some respect at least are equipped in agricultural knowledge and are able to deal with agricultural questions? Lawyers and doctors are in almost daily contact with people of the country and rural affairs. Business men should have some acquaintance with the great agricultural questions. A large bulk of the material that passes through their hands has originated on the farm, and a large portion of it is going back to the farm. And as political leaders there is hardly a question that comes up that should not be considered, at least in part, from the agricultural or rural standpoint. I hope I will not be misunderstood, and yet I want to make myself clear in that regard. Nearly every great national question that comes up for consideration receives too little consideration from the rural or the agricultural standpoint. We have two or three questions that are up before the people of Canada to-day, and you do not hear them agitated from the strictly agricultural standpoint. Our political leaders, the men who are leading the thought of the country, to my mind are more or less handicapped unless they are able to size up the agricultural situation and consider these questions in their true relationship to agricultural affairs. And as for the whole people, when we have upon our tables now—or soon will have—beef from Australia, and mutton from New Zealand, and butter from New Zealand, and eggs from Tennessee and Missouri—these are the eggs we are eating for breakfast now, laid in Tennessee last March or April and put in cold storage in Chicago, and being shipped in here daily—potatoes from New Brunswick, and flour made out of wheat grown in the Northwest. There rise up before you these questions: Why? Why? Why? Why is it not our own product that is there? Why is it necessary that we go and ransack the world, so to speak, to supply our own table? This is a question, then, that affects not only the professional people and the business people, but every person who is a consumer.

This much by way of introduction. My subject was "The Agriculture of the Province." With the time at our disposal it would be utterly impossible to attempt a review of all the provinces of Canada, and so it occurred to me that perhaps it might be well to talk about two only. We will take the one away in the extreme East, Prince Edward Island, and the other in the extreme West, British Columbia. One could hardly imagine two provinces belonging to the same Dominion having wider differences. Here is a tiny little island down in the Gulf of St. Lawrence measuring in all about 1,400,000 acres of land. Away out on the Pacific we have British Columbia with 266 million acres. It would take 190 islands the size of Prince Edward Island to measure up to the size of British Columbia. In size, then, they are very different. The one lies on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific. We have been passing through stringent times in Canada for the last few months, but the little island has not known anything about it. They do not know down in Prince Edward Island that there have been hard times. The most prosperous province in all Canada lies down there in the Gulf, and the business men tell us they have not seen such good times in twenty years as they have had in Prince Edward Island of late. Then go away to British Columbia on the west and talk to the financial men and the business men and they tell you if any province in Canada has been handicapped and has felt the strain and stress of financial stringency during the last few months, it is British Columbia. They are not discouraged—oh, bless you, no—nothing could discourage a British Columbian. They are just marking time, they are catching their breath before going ahead again, with a rush, but it so happens that they have had to stop, and they admit that they have felt the stringency of the times as no other province. Here we have the two extremes. The little province in the Gulf unaffected, and the big province on the West, possessing probably the greatest resources of the Dominion, coming through the storm with shortened sail. Now, why is that the case? Prince Edward Island has 84 per cent. of her people on her farms. British Columbia has 48 per cent. Is there anything significant in that or not? British Columbia has only 48 per cent. of her people on her farms, and she eats every day of the year on her tables New Zealand mutton and New Zealand butter. They do not pretend to supply themselves with food. They have had the money, and have been living well, and have been able to buy from Australia and New Zealand and Oregon and Washington more than these smaller provinces in the East. One estimate that was made was that it took fifteen million dollars' worth of food from outside to keep the tables of British Columbia going. I was told the other day by an officer of the Department of Agriculture out there that an investigation they are now carrying on shows that that is away below the mark, and probably it will be found to take two or three times that much. And yet Prince Edward Island has been sending fresh eggs to the Montreal market without a break for the last few weeks and months. There is something, I think, in that. When a financial storm breaks over a country there is something in having that good old sheet anchor of agriculture there to steady the ship in the storm. Just as the provinces of Canada have had their agriculture developed during the last few years, you will find that the financial stress has been weathered. Starting from the extreme East as you go West, more and more severe has been the financial strain. Prince Edward Island in the last ten years lost ten thousand of her people, who moved off her farms and went West, lured away by the stories of speculation and investment and profit in the West. And now she is trying to devise ways and means to hold her own people there. Go to British Columbia and what do we find? British Columbia shutting the door against people coming in. Of course when we understand it is the Chinese and Japanese and Hindoo against whom she is shutting the door we are perhaps not so much surprised as we would be at the bare statement. Here are these two provinces, the one gaining and the other losing, the one ready to welcome the people from any part of the world, and the other shutting the door against the people of the East and making most strenuous efforts in Great Britain and Ireland to induce people to come out and help us develop our resources. And yet Prince Edward Island, notwithstanding that, has only begun to develop her agriculture. She has no crown lands, she has no forest reserves, she has no minerals. It is purely an agricultural island, farming from one end to the other, all under the plow or in pasture, with no waste land, practically, except along the seashore here and there where the sand has been drifting up. It is an island purely agricultural, and yet they are just beginning to waken up to the possibilities of their agricultural work. Hay, oats and potatoes, have been their three main crops. Now, however, they have started in to develop their dairy, their fruit and their poultry. Furs, fish, and farms are the three great resources of the Island. They may have no crown lands, no timber, no mines, but they are now beginning to develop these three F's, farms, furs and fish. You have heard a good deal in the papers about the black fox farming on the Island, and I suppose you have read that with the same interest and curiosity with which you have read about some great mining speculation in the West or a land boom on the British Columbia coast. There has been more or less speculation, necessarily there must be; but I want to tell you this that there is a sane, sound business development of fur farming down on Prince Edward Island that is just as substantial as any other industry that I know of in Canada to-day. Look over the papers and read the reports and what do you find? That furs have been advancing in price more rapidly and steadily than almost any other thing that human beings produce. The world is demanding to-day more and more furs and apparently is willing to pay for them; and the industry has been developed down there on the Island apparently at the opportune time. About four years have gone by since the first company organized, and to-day they have over two hundred companies engaged in the business on the Island, with a capitalization of fifteen million dollars, and stock on hand worth more than all the other live stock on the Island. It has spread over into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Of course, if you are going into the business be careful; you will get wild-catted there just the same as in anything else. There is the imitation article as well as the genuine, but this will in time be eliminated. There is the real, sane, substantial basis as well as the counterfeit. Any man that goes in with his eyes shut deserves to lose. If you want to know more about it read the Report of the Conservation Commission, and read the report laid on the table at Ottawa the other day by the Agricultural Committee. This fur farming has brought about two extraordinary things. When I was down there last summer I was told the Prince Edward Island people are a most careful people. My informant said, "Every farmer on the Island has a bank account, and the average bank account of a depositor in Prince Edward Island is higher than in any other province." A farmer on the Island had $10,000 drawing interest at 3 per cent. He decided he would make an improvement on his farm that required $2,000. Do you think he would touch that $10,000? Not at all; it was contrary to his strict bringing up. He would borrow $2,000 and pay 6 per cent. interest. Why? Because he had to pay it back. That is what I was told down there. They were so conservative. These slow-going easterners have wakened up. The fox farmer has given them a new outlook. The only thing we hope for is that it will not make them too speculative. They do not borrow the money any more; they have found they can take the money and make more for themselves out of it than by allowing the bank to use it and hand three per cent. to them. They have got stirred up. They have even begun to talk about manufacturing establishments on the Island. You might travel the Island from one end to the other without being able to find a single establishment that might be called a manufacturing establishment. Now they are beginning to talk about them, and the latest industry, which is an ally of this fur farming, which is beginning and which may amount to a great deal, is the producing of Persian lamb. If you want to read a story full of romance and interest, get a copy of the New York Times of January 18th, 1914; you will find a full page article, illustrated, on the Karakul sheep, and the production of Persian lamb. The article is written by Dr. C. C. Young, who is in Ottawa at present getting letters of introduction to the British Consulate in St. Petersburg, and is about to leave on his third trip to Siberia and Turkestan with a view to acquiring further knowledge for the production of Persian lamb. They have founded a company on the Island. Dr. Young is a Russian; "Young" is not his name at all; when he left Russia he dropped his name and changed it over to C. C. Young. I told him he was all right about the first part, the initials, but I was not quite so sure about the other. He started down in Mexico but had rough treatment and so came to Texas, but did not get along very well. Meanwhile in Prince Edward Island the farmers had begun to draw their money out of the bank and to make thirty and forty per cent. interest on it. Young started breeding these Karakul sheep down in Texas, and the fur farmers on the Island heard about it and said, "Nothing is too good for Prince Edward Island," and they went after it and they told him what they were doing, and he said, "These are the men I want to get behind me," and they formed a company on the Island, and now he is off on his third tour to Siberia and Bokhara to see how things are getting along there.

As to fish: Have you eaten real Malpeque oysters in Toronto? If you have you never want to eat oysters of any other kind, the most deliciously flavoured oyster in the world. Two years ago the Island got possession of the waters from the Dominion Government and Premier Matheson thought he saw another resource that should be developed, and they have taken all the bays that cut into the Island and have begun to survey them, and you can go down there and pick out a twenty-acre square of water and the land under it, and by paying the Government so much per acre you can get a lease for growing oysters, provided you do it under their regulations and grow them in their way and do not deplete the beds; a rational, sane method of carrying on business, and it looks as though they were going to develop an enormous industry there on the coasts of the Island in connection with oysters. Of course there is always trouble in everything; if you were to go down there you would never adopt the plan that some of them have of going down to Cape Cod and getting a few hundred barrels of oysters and dipping them into the bay and leaving them a while, and then dipping them up again and shipping them to Montreal and Toronto as Malpeque oysters. They are getting on with oysters, and I think with Government inspection and supervision we may expect a wonderful industry on that line.

Farms, furs and fish! There is a great future before the little Island. They have wakened up from a long sleep. They have got the money, and what they lack in that regard the people of the West are apparently prepared to give them.

As to the other province with the different condition and different soils. The Island has no mountains. Unfortunately at one time somebody called British Columbia a sea of mountains. In the south that is applicable, but in the north as the valleys widen and the Peace River Valley stretches into the province, you realize that there are also prairie lands and great plateaus that must mean something in the future development of that country. Hitherto fruit in the Okanagan and other valleys, and butter making down in the rich Fraser valley and in the delta, have been the two mainstays of agriculture, but now that the Grand Trunk Pacific has gone in by Tete Jeune Cache, and the provincial government is pushing its railroads up from the south, they are beginning to open up a country the possibilities of which are almost beyond comprehension. There is a country with enormous stretches, millions and millions of acres of land. The warm moist air of the Pacific is able to come through the mountains as they are far enough apart; so that instead of having the semi-arid irrigable country of Southern Alberta, we have a well watered country and a mild climate. The climate is all right, the soil is all right, and if you look for the vegetation you will see the natural growth of grass and wild peas, in some places almost up to the backs of the ponies as they go through. Nature has endowed Canada with many areas in Central and Northern British Columbia that some day will mean a great deal for us. The great prairie country coming in from the Peace River will grow wheat, and the broad valleys will grow grass and grain and fodder for the live stock, and we may expect out of that country ultimately to get a large portion of the meat and dairy products of the West. Wheat, you say, away up there? Three hundred miles north of Edmonton the Dominion Government Department of Agriculture has an experimental farm at Fort Vermilion; it is seven hundred miles north of the United States boundary, as far north of Edmonton as Edmonton is from the border, and there they have had magnificent crops of wheat for the past six years. Only once was anything touched by frost. They have had better results at Fort Vermilion than they have had at some of the experimental farms three or four hundred miles further south. There are reasons for all that; I have not time to go into them. I simply give you that to illustrate the fact that it is not a question of remoteness nor northerliness, but a question of the influence of the warm air currents coming in from the Pacific Ocean and modifying the climate of that whole section. British Columbia has only a moderate population of 392,000, less than the city of Toronto. She has 249 million acres of land, she has resources in her fisheries, in her forests, in her lands, and in her mines, that probably are unequalled by any other province in the Dominion, and the question is what she is going to do with them. They have a few enterprising people out there; they are people who think in millions. I will just make reference to two lines along which they are seeing the results of their thinking in millions. Last year the province of British Columbia expended six to eight million dollars in the construction of highways. I would not like to tell you how many millions they have put into, or guaranteed, in their railways under construction. Six or eight millions in highways, the finest highways on the continent, built for all time, not like some highways we have seen built this year to be torn up next year and to be rebuilt the following. They are catering to a special class; they propose that the tourists of the continent can go there and drive through and over the mountains and along the sea coast and enjoy themselves, because they realize that probably the most profitable crop any country can raise is a crop of tourists. The other line along which they are doing big things is in connection with the University of British Columbia. First of all they decided it was time they should lay plans for the building of a provincial university, and so they set apart a site. Ultimately they selected two hundred and fifty acres at Point Grey. Those of you who may be familiar with Vancouver need not have any explanation; others perhaps would like to know what that signifies. It is practically one of the suburbs of Vancouver; a magnificent road goes out to it and the Marine Drive skirts it, and there is water in front of it, and beyond and above the clouds can be seen the tops of the mountains on Vancouver Island. You can stand there and look to the right and see the snow on the mountains, the glaciers, and look down to the left and see the rich valleys of the delta. It is a magnificent site. That land is worth, on a low calculation, $10,000 an acre. Figure that out and you will find that the site alone is probably worth easily three million dollars. Then they set aside $1,800,000 in cash. There is five million dollars to start with. Then they said, "We must set aside some land," so they are setting aside two million acres of land. You have a good idea here that land in British Columbia is worth something; if you go out and start fruit farming you will find it is worth from $300 to $500 or $1,000 an acre according to conditions. Put $10 an acre as a minimum value on that. One Ontario man out there said that land will be worth $100 an acre. Perhaps it will. The government of British Columbia have planned for a university that is greater than anything that has ever before been conceived in the Dominion of Canada, and unless their plans fail, there is nothing on the continent of America that will stand alongside of it, in time. This little handful of people thinking in millions, have set aside first of all the equivalent of five million dollars, and on top of that two million acres of land. They are building not for this year or next year, but they are building for a hundred years to come. I saw the plans of their buildings, and I said to the architects, "What will they cost?" "Oh, I don't know," he said. Twenty-five million dollars? "Oh, perhaps," he said, "perhaps." They are planning for the next fifty years; it may take twenty-five or fifty years before they are all worked out. I give you that to show you what these people in the West are thinking about, what they are planning for.

The slow-going, self-satisfied people down on the little Island of Prince Edward wakened up one morning and found money could be made out of fur farming and they drew it from the banks and they got going, and apparently there is nothing can stop them. And out on the Pacific coast we have people who are thinking in millions and are intending to make a great country.

What lies between? We have not time to tell about it, but they are Canadians in the Gulf Island and Canadians on the Pacific coast. It takes a whole lot of country to make Canada, and a lot of people to make up Canadians, and we here who are living in the centre, in the city of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, will not be doing our duty unless we find out and know something about what is being done in the beautiful Island in the Gulf, and what also is being done or attempted out on the coast. It is only as we find out these things that we begin to realize after all that Canada is a great country, and to love it. Whether in Prince Edward Island or British Columbia or Old Ontario, it is worth while to be a Canadian, to be living in this country, and also to be part of the British Empire. (Applause.)

EMPIRE

An Address by HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, ex-President of the United States, before the Empire Club of Canada, January 29, 1914.

Mr. President, Your Honour,—

I am getting used to these titles, you see—(Laughter)—and Gentlemen of the Empire Club: My political experience on an issue that the title of your club suggests, makes me a little doubtful—or would if I were in politics—a little doubtful of my present association with you. (Laughter.) It is now fourteen years since a good many of us were charged with being something awful, *i.e.,* with being Imperialists. It is fourteen years this month that I was walking up and down the conference room of the Circuit Court of the United States in Cincinnati trying to reach a just conclusion, when I had my mind diverted to a telegram handed me from William McKinley, "If you can arrange your engagements I would like to have you come to Washington to confer with me." Well, there wasn't any vacancy on the Supreme Court,—(Laughter)—his cabinet was full, and I didn't see where I was coming in in that conference. (Laughter.) Nevertheless, when the President of the United States beckons, one responds. Well, I knew that we had had a war with Spain; I knew that we began it with the idea of helping out the Cubans, and without any thought that we would go anywhere else but to Cuba, and I knew that, as is the case with all wars, when you begin at one place on the globe you never know to what other part you may be led in the necessity for finding your enemy to fight; and so we had landed in the Philippines, and Dewey's guns had put upon us a burden we never anticipated. I knew all that, but I did not connect myself with that subject when the President's message came. I had a life position, I was in a place where I enjoyed the work. The people of four states, Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee I was trying out; I was testing their patience by my legal decisions—(Laughter)—but when I reached Washington and went in to see Mr. McKinley and he told me what he wanted me for, I would not have been more surprised if he had asked me to go up in an aeroplane, and then the science of flying was not fully developed. (Laughter.) He said, "I want you to go to the Philippines." "But," I said, "Mr. President, I do not want to be in the Philippines; I do not want our people to be in the Philippines." "Well," said he, "neither do I, but we are there"—(Laughter and applause)—"and," said he, "you are an Ohio man, and I am, and I want you to go." And Elihu Root came in and he said, "You have had a pretty fair time; you have held office ever since you were twenty-one; you have had your plate turned up the right side whenever good places fell from the trees, and now the time has come when you can do something for your country." He said, "I don't mean to say that you have not done your duty where you are, but this takes some sacrifice, you are going to pioneer, so far as our national policy in the past is concerned, and you are the parting of the ways. You may reach the Supreme Court if you go on, and you may not, and you will have to give up for the time being your judicial work, and you have to take chances, but this is your duty before you, and now the question is whether you are man enough to see it." Well, that method of approaching a man rather stirs him up, and so I went out. There were four others appointed in the Commission, and we reached Manila Bay one hot June morning; oh, how hot it can be there under an awning on a ship! Three or four intelligent, high-minded Filipinos came aboard, and I think they were the only people in the Islands that were glad to have us come. There were some sixty or seventy thousand American soldiers, and I know they did not want us. The general commanding told us, that while of course he was under orders to give us a proper reception, he thought it was a great departure from proper policy for us to be sent out there; and the welcome we got from the native Filipinos was shown by the fact that we did not see any as we went up in solemn procession between two lines of soldiers to the Ayuntamiento where the general commanding had his headquarters. But the very opposition of the military to our policy of conciliation which we were instructed to carry out, put us in a better position with the Filipinos, though we did not know it at that time and we were very angry about it; but one never knows when he is well off. The Lord arranges these things better than oneself. (Applause.) The army did wonderful work out there, and I am going to speak a moment about that. They did wonderful work, but they had to do work with their guns and with the military discipline, and when we got there, or shortly after, certainly, the time had come when the Filipino people began to see that it was to their interest to have a civil government, and so, as we gave them hearings and went on and established the laws for civil government, they began to see hope through us and so they accepted us after a while with open arms, and in that way it was made possible, by the very contrast that we bore to the military, for us to go on and establish civil government on principles that have been maintained ever since. (Applause.) I feel as if in talking of colonial experiments I were bringing coals to Newcastle to men who have lived under the British flag and studied British history, and yet you naturally have an interest in a sister country that is struggling now with problems that you have had for more than a century. (Applause.)

The Philippine Islands are a tropic country with settlements dotted all over the various islands, a country where guerrilla warfare offers a kind of free picnic and makes great attraction for the natives. It is easier to retire to the mountains or the "bosque," *i.e.,* the woods, and live on your neighbours, those who have rice and have cultivated it, than it is to cultivate the rice yourself; and the consequence is there is every inducement to guerrilla warfare, and the only way you can suppress it is by garrisoning every town and every settlement with a small detachment, which makes the war you carry on nothing but a captains' and lieutenants' and sergeants' war, and each one of these officers is expected to carry on an individual campaign against the neighbouring knot of guerrillas. Now, that means a very hard campaign; it means a very costly campaign, and you have finally got to train your soldiers to run faster than the Filipinos can run in getting to their lairs. And the fear of such another campaign is the reason we do not want to go into Mexico. (Applause.) A cannot tell you what the solution will be in Mexico; I must say that the other powers are very considerate and that they are waiting for the United States to act. They are very considerate and kindly on the one hand, and they are on the other quite willing that we should do the work. (Laughter and applause.) Now, what is going to happen I do not know. The condition of Mexico is very distressing, but if intervention has to come it means the raising of a great army of two or three or perhaps four hundred thousand men, and the garrisoning of all the towns with a view to bringing about tranquility, because that country with its fifteen millions and its vast expanses and forests and mountain recesses offers an even more serious problem than the Philippines in its tranquilization; and therefore we are praying in our country that we may be spared the necessity of undertaking for the world that most burdensome work. (Applause.)

The first thing we had to do in the Philippines was to bring about peace, and that we did. We followed the example of England in other countries, and we organized a constabulary of Filipinos, and they made an excellent constabulary. They were officered by regular officers of our army. At first they were viewed with hostility by the people, but after they went through two or three famines, after they went through two or three epidemics of cholera and plague and black smallpox, after the laws of health were explained to the people and properly, but in a conciliatory way, were enforced, then they began to appreciate the value of the constabulary, and that body became the most popular institution organized in the Philippines, and it is to-day. Then after struggling for ten years to give them free trade so that we might give them the benefits of the markets of the United States, we got that, and in 1909 and since that time their business interests have leaped forward in a way that surprised even those of us that were certain it would do great good.

Then we have educated them. We introduced a thousand American teachers. We thought that English was the language they ought to learn. (Applause.) It is the language of free institutions, it is the business language of the Orient. Of nearly eight million Filipinos, only from seven to ten per cent. of them speak Spanish, and that is because they had not been encouraged to learn that language by the controlling authorities, and so it was they had sixteen different dialects. Go north from Manila for 125 miles and you go through six layers of people, each one of which speaks a different dialect, and if a man knows only that dialect he is unable to make himself understood or to understand any of the other dialects. So far as civilizing them is concerned, if a man knows only one of these dialects with its very small literature and its very small vocabulary, he might just as well be at the bottom of a well and expect to know what is going on at the surface, as to be confined to that medium of communication and keep up with modern civilization. So it was that we first began with this thousand American teachers, and then they taught and have now made capable, Filipino teachers eight thousand in number. (Applause.) We have organized an educational system in which we are educating 400,000 pupils in daily enrolment throughout the Islands. Now, that is only about five-twelfths of the school population, but the trouble about government is—you have found it so in Canada I doubt not; you have found it so in all your Crown Colonies and elsewhere—that government is very expensive, and while there are a great many things that government could do that would be useful to the people, you have to cut your suit according to your cloth. Now, one of the impressions that has gone abroad—I don't say that our Anti-Imperialist friends have spread it, but the impression prevails that we are spending a great deal of money for the maintenance of civil government in the Philippines. As a matter of fact, except three million dollars that Congress voted to relieve a famine, and the killing of all the cattle by the rinderpest, we have not had a dollar to expend out of the Treasury of the United States in the maintenance of that civil government for fourteen years. (Applause.) It is true we have about fifteen thousand troops there, and it costs to maintain those troops about $250 a man more than it would to maintain them at home. Of course, people say, "Well, you could dispense with those troops if we did not have the Philippines." That is not true; we need them. We need them at home, and if we did not have the Philippines we would still have the troops, so that the limitation of expenses is what you can yourslf calculate.

We have given them railroads; we have increased 125 miles of railroad to about 600, and it will soon be a thousand miles in construction. We did not have any roads there of any kind; we have now upwards of five thousand miles of automobile roads, so that you can go in an automobile all over the Province of Luzon, which is the largest province. When I went there you could not go anywhere in the Philippines except on horseback, or in a two-wheeled arrangement that had to be bomb-proof or it would break down in the first ten miles of the journey. Then in the matter of health we have taught the Filipinos some principles of hygiene. We have established a medical school, we have reduced the dreadful inroads of cholera, we have driven plague out of the Islands, we have reduced the black smallpox, which was a scourge. We have vaccinated ten million people, although there are only seven million five hundred thousand in the Islands—(Laughter)—but we vaccinated many twice, and the result is marvellous. I know there are some who do not believe in vaccination; well, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and vaccination has been a blessing in those Islands as it has been the world round, and it can be proven—as a good many other things that are true cannot be proven—by statistics.

Now, what is going to be done in the Islands? I cannot tell you; I am not responsible now. (Laughter.) But after one has been labouring for fourteen years, first as Governor, and then as Secretary of War, and then as President, to do something out there for the elevating and betterment of the Pilipinos and for the credit of the United States, one hates to see a job given up that is only partly done—(Hear, hear, and applause)—and I am very hopeful; although the Democratic Party made some very radical statements as to what they were going to do, I am hopeful that they will continue our policy. As I said to a member of the Administration, "If you follow the Republican policy, the Republicans cannot do anything else except to make a joke about it, they are estopped to blame you for following them; and the Anti-Imperialists are really not enough to fill a good-sized street car." I am hoping they are coming to that conclusion. It is a great work, this helping other people. (Applause.) It is expensive, but we have reached a time in this world when nations and peoples are neighbours—(Hear, hear)—and a great powerful nation with a surplus, who is thrust by circumstances into a position of trusteeship for another people, owes it to that other people, whether that other people realizes the necessity or not, to put an arm under its arm and help it on.

Now, we do not expect to stay in the Philippines forever. We are going to give those people the right to cut themselves off if they desire, when they can be safely trusted to set out on the thorny path of self-government. (Applause.) I think when they get sense enough for that they will have sense enough to realize the value of the bond between the Philippines and the United States, and the value of our markets and the value of the association. But to leave the Island as our Anti-Imperialist friends suggest, after making a Treaty of Neutralization with all the powers, under which we shall guarantee to the Powers that the peace and good order of the country in the Philippines will be maintained, and the rights of all foreigners will be looked after, and we withdraw, is a proposition that is lacking in sanity. By leaving we surrender the only means that we have of enforcing the guaranty. We would not be out of the Islands two years before the peculiar methods of politics that were pursued when we went in there, by Aguinaldo, would be resumed, and then we would have to go in and do the work all over again. We ought to stay a generation or two generations until we shall educate the whole people and give them a language which will enable them to understand what popular self-government is,—(Applause)—when we shall give them intelligence enough to know their rights under a government that preserves civil liberty. Then we can afford to let them go, and then as I say they will not wish to be let go, except to preserve an autonomous government under a friendly union with us, in which we exercise only an advising and not a guiding hand. (Applause.) But so much remains to be done before the people are fitted for independence and self-government that I shall deem it a great failure of duty on the part of our country if it lets that archipelago go before the broad plans for its advance have had at least two generations of time to bring them to fruition.

In the work which was new to an American, my attention was naturally directed to the colonial system of Great Britain and the marvellous accomplishment of your Imperial Government in spreading the civilization of the world and promoting the happiness of four hundred and twenty millions of people. (Applause.) I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but I think history so plainly shows the fact that it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that but for English enterprise, English courage, English sense of responsibility in governing other races, in taking over and improving the countries the world round, the civilization of the world would have been greatly retarded. (Applause.) When I think of what England has done in India for the happiness of those people there, how she found those many millions torn with internecine strife, disrupted with constant wars, unable to continue agriculture or the arts of peace, with inferior roads, with tyranny and oppression that can hardly be over-stated, and think now of the government that she is giving to those alien races and the peace she is maintaining between naturally hostile peoples, divided in religion and in ideals, the debt the people of the world owe to England ought to be acknowledged in no grudging tone. (Applause.) Of course, British statesmen have had a long experience in colonial government. They have made some mistakes. (Laughter and applause.) They made one in the case of her American colonies, but they have profited by that mistake. (Hear, hear.) They had to let the United States go to become a great nation to reflect credit on her origin and her mother country, and to retain a bond of affection that a proper appreciation of the institutions inherited from England must always sustain. (Applause.) But when one studies the wise restraint which England has since exercised through her colonial administration in dealing with differing peoples, the liberality that she has developed in giving complete independence of trade to all her colonies, the exaltation of the administration of justice among peoples who admire justice highly but are utterly incapable of administering it, one cannot wonder at the pride British subjects take in that honourable record. I am not speaking of something of which I have merely general knowledge. My study of her history for thirteen years has revealed to me the difficulties through which England has had to go, the sacrifices she has had to make of her best blood, and the treasure she has had to expend to assert an authority that was essential to the welfare of those whose resistance she was overcoming. Think of the marvellous development in Egypt under Cromer and Milner and Kitchener, and this within the present generation. Of course you are all familiar with that beautiful figure of Webster which came to his mind sitting on the battlements of Quebec. He spoke of Great Britain as "a power with which Rome in the height of her glory is not to be compared, a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe her possessions and military posts whose morning drumbeat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." (Applause.) He was then looking at your Empire from the standpoint of military conquest and power. To-day the impartial historian must look at it from the standpoint of benevolent, useful and elevating government. (Applause.) It must be regarded from the point of view of benefit to the human race. No one can encircle the globe, no one can live in the Orient, no one can go into the tropics, without seeing the standard of England floating over the soil of her Empire, and without having it brought home to him what a factor in the progress of mankind she has been. (Applause.) Of course what I have spoken of relates largely to what you call your Crown Colonies, or at least those which are not self-governing. But not only has your Imperial function had to do with the government of other races and the helping them on to peace and the arts and comforts of civilization, but the enterprise of the English, the Scotch and the Irish has carried them into far distant lands, there to establish settlements of white subjects of the Empire, and in the last generation we have seen flower into federated unions great governments, in one case called a Dominion, in another case a Commonwealth, and in the third case a Union, with every reasonable prospect that in a century the wealth and population will approximate those of the Mother Country. (Applause.) It is most interesting to study the history of the constitutions of these new self-governing branches of the Empire, to note in their formation the manifestation of the singular capacity of the race for popular self-government, to trace parallelisms and differences between these three constitutions and the constitution of the eldest daughter of Great Britain, that of the United States. Such governments are unique in the political world. No other nation has them. Other nations have colonies in which reside many of their own subjects or citizens, but no other nation except Great Britain has self-governing Dominions of her own people tied to her Empire with a loyalty and affection that seem to grow as the actual control of the Mother Country diminishes and lightens. (Applause.) The history of the expansion of these Dominions, their maintenance of civil liberty and popular representative government, and the application of the federative principle in each of them, reveals the same spirit that worked out the institutions of Anglo-Saxon freedom at home. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the speaker was moved by Hon. R. A. Pyne, seconded by Mr. Justice Riddell, and enthusiastically received.

EARL GREY'S SCHEME FOR DOMINION HOUSE IN LONDON

An Address by LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.M.G., before the Empire Club of Canada, February 13, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Under ordinary circumstances I should have been diffident about attempting to speak to Canadians upon a subject which is after all their own business, but I believe that I come here furnished with credentials which would satisfy the majority of Canadians; I am here at the request of Earl Grey. (Applause.) You as well as I know his large vision, you as well as I have come under the spell of his infectious enthusiasm, and you as well as I know the ardent love that he has for Canada and his sympathy for everything that pertains to her well being. (Applause.) No one who comes here with the recommendation of Earl Grey behind him need be apprehensive as to the nature of the reception which he is likely to receive. (Applause.)

Now, let me turn to the scheme which I propose to put before you this afternoon, but first I should like very briefly to brush away certain rumours which have no basis in fact, and the removal of which may, I think, clear the way to a more distinct understanding of Lord Grey's proposal. In the first place, it has been circulated in the press that the Dominion Government has rejected this scheme. Well, I am not in the confidence of the Dominion Government, but all I can say is that only as lately as yesterday I was informed by one of the Ministers that they were very carefully considering it, and they thought it was a scheme which should have the most careful consideration. (Applause.) What they may decide to do upon the matter it is not for me to prophesy, and I certainly shall not attempt to be so rash as to do anything of the sort. Now, may I brush away another rumour which seems to spring up and is very difficult to dispose of. I think it rather circles around the name "option," and is that Lord Grey and those who are associated with him are out for profit in this matter. Indeed I was told when I was coming over that there was a hundred thousand pounds in this job. Let me say in reply that that was the first occasion on which I had heard of profit connected with this scheme, and I feel sure, that you gentlemen who are here to-day and have known Lord Grey as your Governor-General for seven and a half years are quite prepared to receive his word in the matter. If you will permit me I will read an extract from a letter of his to Lord Strathcona, which was forwarded to the Government: "I have already stated that my company has secured the above options for the express purpose of enabling the site to be expropriated for imperial purposes, and I am authorized to state that the company is prepared to hand over the benefit of the options to the Dominion Governments without retaining any profit, and merely on repayment to the company of the sums paid for the options and the expenses incurred in connection with the matter." (Applause.) That statement of Lord Grey's is explicit enough, but there are still some synical people who say, Why then embark upon it at all? May I put the reply in a sentence? There are some of us who have been the King's representatives in various parts of His Majesty's Dominions, and I believe one and all of us think that no expenditure of trouble and time would be too great if we could do something for the countries with which we have been connected. (Applause.) That is the whole story with regard to this matter. Some may say that it is quixotic; some may say it is an impertinent interference with the freedom of the Dominions. All I can say is if the latter is your view, I would ask you to put it down to excessive zeal on our part; we wish to try to do something in the days of our retirement for the countries that have received us with such hospitality, and that it will always be our object to do something for those Dominions with which we have been connected. Now from the practical side there has been another attack made on this proposal, namely, that it is very similar to the Imperial Institute scheme which was inaugurated some years ago. Let me briefly dispose of that attack by indicating a little to you of what this scheme is. In the first place I should like to pay this tribute to the Imperial Institute, that while from some points of view it has been not altogether a success, and has been a disappointment, yet it has for many years now done extremely valuable work in research for new uses to which to put colonial products, and you who are large primary producers in this country know what a valuable thing it is when science steps in and says that articles which you can produce so lavishly in your country have commercial uses which science can tell you of and which will bring money into your pocket. This is the work which the Imperial Institute has been doing, and it has done most valuable work in that respect. The Imperial Institute set out to be an exhibition very largely of imperial products which would be of use to the British trader, to see, to handle, to learn all about. But first of all the Imperial Institute was placed in a remote and inaccessible part of London and the High Commissioners and Agents General and all people who would have been able to explain the objects of that exhibition and the uses to which the various products could be put, were miles away in a distant part of London. So in the first place you got the Imperial Institute stuck right away and out of touch with commerce and trade and the business side. But here is quite a different story altogether. The Aldwych site is on the two great highways north and south, and east and west, of London; Kingsway coming down from the north crosses this site and goes over the bridge to the south of London; the Strand equally comes down from the west of London and passes along Fleet Street and into the City, and Aldwych is at the junction of these two great main thoroughfares. If I may give you an illustration in a map which is not produced for the purpose—as some maps sometimes are for schemes—this is the London Post Office Directory, and I had the curiosity to look at it before I started, to see where the Aldwych site would appear on it, and I drew two lines north and south and east and west through the exact centre of the map. The Aldwych site is that patch just below the centre. If you took time to get a piece of land close to the centre of London, I don't think you could find a site closer than this site proves to be. But I should like also to assure you that you can get at it easily. I have three little maps here. These black and red lines you see (indicating on map) are the tube or underground railways of London, and as you see they are circling that little black spot in the middle, which is the Aldwych site. This is the London general omnibus map—(showing)—and here you see all those red lines, which display the various omnibus routes, with Aldwych in the centre of them. One is able to get either to or from Aldwych from or to every part of London. Then if that is not sufficient here is the tramway map of London County Council, which shows Aldwych with the tramways branching out away from it. As far as this site is concerned, it is a spot where millions of that thronging population of London pass each day, and where busses and street cars and tube railways, and railways of all descriptions are within a reasonably short distance. I have said already with regard to the Imperial Institute exhibition that it was miles away from the High Commissioners and the Agents General. In this case, we suggest that if there is an exhibition in this Dominion House, the Agents General and the High Commissioner should have their offices on the same site, and that also there should be a bureau of commercial intelligence, and it is hoped that Canadian businesses of all descriptions, banks, insurance companies, newspaper offices, and so on, should find their life and habitation on the same spot.

Now let me say one other word with regard to a rumour that has reached me, and that is that we have come over here to further a crusade on behalf of this scheme. I feel confident of this, that nothing would be further from Lord Grey's mind than to attempt to force such a scheme, as this, if it were unwelcome to the government of the day. That is not our object at all in coming over here. He has asked Mr. Bond and myself to come over here to lay the details of the scheme before the Government and also to explain the scheme where we had invitations to any body of gentlemen who would like to listen to it. I have explained the scheme to the Government; I have been able to explain it to the Canadian Club at Montreal; you have extended to me the same sort of invitation, and I have received a similar invitation from Hamilton. We have not attempted to go out of our way to press this scheme on the attention of the public but we have merely attempted to lay before the Canadian public generally what Lord Grey's Dominion House scheme really means.

There is only one more point and then I shall come to the actual scheme itself. It has been suggested that to attempt to get three Dominions—Canada, New Zealand and South Africa—under one roof is bound to lead to friction between those Dominions, and to an undue and undesirable competition. Well, we have come here, because Canada is the key to the situation, and if Canada were to choose herself to take this scheme upon her shoulders, it would be perfectly open to her to take the whole site, and to invite South Africa and New Zealand to come in, paying rent for that portion of the premises which they chose to occupy. There is nothing rigid or hard in this scheme, and it would be possible for the Dominions to manipulate it as they would like it for their own purposes.

Now may I come on to the details of the scheme itself? I am not going to attempt to indulge in any rhetoric with regard to this scheme; you are keen business men who have stolen an hour away from the middle of your business occupations, and I shall simply try to give you a plain unvarnished tale of what this scheme proposes, and how it is suggested that it should be carried out. First with regard to the position of the site, I think all of you who have been in London will agree with me when I say that the present offices of the Dominion of Canada in Victoria Street are unworthy of Canada. (Hear, hear.) And I would ask you very seriously to think with regard to this, because you will shortly have a new High Commissioner going out to represent you in the Metropolis of Empire. You will ask him to settle down in those dingy, dirty offices—if I may venture on such epithets with regard to a Canadian matter—(hear, hear)—in Victoria Street, and you will ask him to compete with that very energetic, most seducing advocate of Australia's claims, Sir George Reid, in the magnificent new building which Australia is setting up on the site adjoining to this site in Aldwych. This is the building (showing drawing) whose foundation stone was laid last year by the King, and I presume in two or three years' time it will be absolutely completed? I think that is an argument for something being done in relation to this matter. Then I think you will probably agree with me—those of you who have had business dealings in London—that the present Victoria Street site is out of the way for business men—(Hear, hear)—and this has been shown by the fact that Australia has left that quarter, New Zealand has left that quarter, I believe most of the Australian States have left that quarter, and I am not sure myself—though I am subject to correction—whether any Dominion or Province or State remains in Victoria Street, except the Dominion of Canada. As contrasted with this you have the wonderful sites I have described to you; on the meeting place of the high roads north and south and east and west in London: three acres in extent, with a frontage on that great thoroughfare, the Strand, of 436 feet, with a frontage on Aldwych, the semicircular street leading out to Kingsway on the other side, of 636 feet. Is there a site in London which could compare with this site, on which Lord Grey has been fortunate enough to secure an option? Next may I say one or two words with regard to the option which Lord Grey has secured. In the first place when Lord Grey approached the London County Council, he was able to obtain an option only for a leasehold tenure with regard to it. He knew perfectly well that such a tenure was not one that was likely to appeal to the Dominions as a place on which to erect their Dominions house, and so he went before the County Council again and said, Can you not give me an option for freehold tenure, and at length on December second last he obtained an option for a freehold tenure of this site from the London County Council. May I show you how the London County Council has behaved to Lord Grey in this matter? Because I think you will see from their behaviour what an importance and stress that great municipal body lays upon the imperial character of this scheme. In the first place it is not the custom of the County Council to grant land on freehold tenure; they grant it only on leasehold tenure. But they have made three exceptions, one in favour of the Australian Commonwealth two or three years ago, another in favour of the Public Trustee, and another in favour of the Land Registry Offices—all three for public purposes. And they were content to give Lord Grey an option of this freehold tenure on the understanding that it was to be conveyed to a Dominion or Province or State of the Empire. So that was the first recognition on the part of the London County Council that this was an Imperial project. Then in the second place they were ready to reduce the price which they asked for the freehold site. They asked in the first place $6,790,000, but when they learned that this was an imperial project they reduced that sum to $6,305,000. You will see there is a difference of $485,000 between what they asked, when they thought it was merely a profit venture, and when they recognized the imperial character of the scheme. (Applause.) In other words, the people of London, through their elected representatives, are willing to present to the Dominions a sum of $485,000 as a subscription towards this imperial project. Now it is important to know what the nature of this option is. This option was given to Lord Grey for three years starting from the 24th January last, but the London County Council said, This is a very valuable site, we do not want to hang it up for three years, we have in fact in our hands at the present moment, since you approached us, a definite offer from a large Parisian syndicate to place down the first year's rent and to commence building on the site; therefore we think it reasonable that we should be able to give a month's notice at the termination of each year of the option, but we are willing, if you assure us, when we give that notice at the end of the year that there is a reasonable prospect of the Dominions coming in and taking up this site, to forego that notice. I think that is only reasonable. Here is a valuable site and they do not want it held up for three years. If on the 24th of May next the London County Council say to Lord Grey, What prospect have you of the Dominions taking on this scheme? and he says, "The Dominions have assured me that they are favourably considering this," they will not give him the notice. On the other hand if he cannot give them the assurance, the option passes away and the Parisian syndicate will obtain the option. Lord Grey having obtained the option, what uses is that site to be devoted to? To ascertain this and ascertain the likely cost of a great building on this site, Lord Grey instructed the architect of the Australian Commonwealth building to draw up plans for these two purposes, first of all to ascertain to what uses a building of this sort could be put, and in the second place to have some approximate idea of what the cost of such a building would be. So these plans which you see here are not hard and fast plans which it will be necessary for the Dominions to accept, they are merely suggestions thrown out by a very competent and skilled architect as to what could be done with this particular site. Not only do these plans exhibit the great possibilities upon this site but they also show, as we are told by Messrs. Wetherall and Green, an eminent firm of valuers in London, when they had gone through the floor space of this suggested building, that there are eleven floors, 3 below and 8 above ground, in all nearly 19 acres of floor space to be rented. They assured us also that the rent of this building when fully let would amount to $601,400 a year, which would be more than sufficient to pay four per cent. interest on the capital outlay.

Next let me tell you briefly what there is in this building. On the ground floor it is suggested that there should be a great hall as an exhibition place for the products of the Dominions. That hall in its entire length and breadth is about twice the size of Westminster Hall. Then in the basement there is a manufacturers' hall, in which all manufacturers in England would be able to go and see what sort of things are wanted in the Dominions. There they would be in close touch with the office of the commercial intelligence bureau, also in the basement, which would inform them with regard to marketing, freights, and transportation charges, and all those things which merchants and business men on both sides of the Atlantic are anxious to know. Then there would be room in this building for offices for the High Commissioners, for the Agents General, and for all the staffs connected with the Dominions. There would also be plenty of room for the Colonial Institute, who are looking for a new building. And above all these things there would be room to gather together under one roof all the great businesses and industries of Canada which have their headquarters in London. I feel sure, if it were only possible to get this thing started, and make people realize that this was a Canadian quarter, that it would be almost indispensable for a Canadian business man to set up his offices in this building. And so you would gradually get a great hive of industry, and the place would be throbbing with all the aspirations and feelings of Canada. And moreover there is that wonderful tower which is two feet higher than the cross of St. Paul's, which would be a standing landmark to London, nay really to the world, of what Canada was and what Canada hoped to be. (Applause.) Am I wrong in suggesting that from the point of view of the advertisement alone Canada would be doing a good stroke of business if she erected some such building as this on such a site? (Applause.) But let me briefly touch on one or two trade points which may interest those who have to do business on the other side. Men on this side find it very difficult to learn what are the freights and transportation charges on the other side of the Atlantic, in Great Britain. I am told that through the secretiveness of the English railways and manufacturers it is extremely difficult to learn the freights and charges for the carriage of goods from industrial centres to port and from port to port and to destination. Over here, in your great trunk railways, you have, I understand, all the information given to you in a form which anybody can read and easily understand, but I am told on the best authority that that information is not so easily got on the other side. It would be through the agency of some such commercial intelligence bureau, as I suggest would be put up in this building, that that information could be got for you business men. Then there is another matter that I fancy you would like to have expert views upon, and that is how to market your goods. I am quite aware that the Dominions and Provinces have their experts over in the Old Country, who are there to get this information and to impart it to you. But how much stronger their position would be, how much more accurate their information would be likely to be, if they were gathered together under one roof to consult and co-operate one with another, and look at the united pressure that these men, or you through the information these men could give you, would be able to bring upon the proper quarters. Then there is another side to this question that I alluded to just now in connection with the Imperial Institute. Every day science is discovering new uses for old products. Here again it would be possible, through the intelligence bureau, to get the very latest information as to the new uses to which your timbers or unknown minerals might be put, in the commercial world. Then to touch on preference, though not in a political sense, you could have an educative propaganda by which the people of Great Britain could be made to understand that you in the Dominions are producing things which foreign countries are producing, that your things are equally good, and that they ought to take your things in preference to the foreign. (Applause.) These are some points which I would suggest to the attention of business men. I am not going into the details of the finance, but let me put it in a nutshell. The total cost, which would be borne by the three suggested co-partners, the three Dominions, would amount in all, for site and building, and for interest during construction, about $14,000,000. Four per cent. interest on that, which I think the Dominions ought to be able to obtain in London would be $560,000 a year, as against which you would set the rent of this building when fully let, of $601,400 a year, and you see you would have a surplus of some $41,000, which it would be possible to put to a sinking fund or what not, as the Dominions might determine. You ought not to put to yourselves, gentlemen, the question, Can we afford to do this, but Can we afford not to do this? (Hear, hear.) That is the proper way in which you ought to approach this matter. Now I am going to ask you to reflect on what Canada was likely fifty years ago, and what Canada is to-day, and what Canada is likely to be fifty years hence. Short views are often necessary for the statesman, but long views are equally necessary for the great statesman, and certainly when an opportunity like this comes, which is not likely to recur, you must not throw it away, as in the case of those sibylline books, which, having been offered, were withdrawn never to be offered again. Here is a chance of three acres of vacant land in the centre of London. You cannot pick up vacant land in London as you can on the prairie, or even as you can on the outskirts of Toronto. (Laughter.) This chance in the centre of London may come once in a century, perhaps not then, and surely it is all-important that such an opportunity which happens to have come to this generation of the Dominions, should be grasped while they are in the way with it, and should not be let go. And so it is, gentlemen, because I see this great opportunity, because Lord Grey sees this great opportunity, that I ask you to pause, not once nor twice, but long before you reject this scheme which Lord Grey has asked me to place before you. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the speaker was moved by Sir William Mulock, seconded by Mr. G. T. Somers.

"THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE"

This was the subject of an Address before the Empire Club by PROFESSOR JAMES MAVOR, professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, on Thursday, Feb. 19th, 1914.

Defining the balance of power as the equilibrium of political forces at a particular moment, the speaker exhibited the processes whereby it may be disturbed, and whereby it may be re-established. In a wide historical survey, which included a masterly analysis of events in recent times, the speaker showed how often critical situations arise; and the equilibrium is threatened by apparently trifling incidents.

The supreme task of diplomacy is to know what to do when the balance of power has been disturbed, and to prevent its being more disturbed. Skilful statesmanship, at many critical junctures, had proven itself to be one of the very highest forms of human achievement for the welfare of nations.

EMPIRE AND DRAMA

An Address by MARTIN HARVEY, ESQ., before the Empire Club of Canada, February 26, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am sure you will believe me that I pay you no empty compliment when I say I am highly flattered to be your guest to-day. This occasion will certainly stand out in my remembrance not only on account of the distinction it carries with it, but as a pleasant variation in the long catalogue of addresses I have delivered since arriving on this illimitable Continent. (Laughter.) One of the strongest impressions, gentlemen, which I shall carry away with me from Canada will be your inexhaustible capacity for receiving addresses. (Laughter.) Not ten minutes after our arrival in Halifax I was the proud recipient of an invitation to address the Canadian Club there. And I have been addressing Canadian Clubs in pretty nearly every city we have appeared in since then. But it does not stop at your Canadian Clubs; I have lately been made aware that the ladies also have their Canadian Clubs, and a pleasant rivalry appears to exist between these institutions. I had an experience of this a few weeks back. I had been honoured by an invitation to address the Women's Canadian Club in a certain city. No sooner had I arrived at my hotel than I was swooped down by ten gentlemen who hustled me into a car and carried me off to the men's Canadian Club. (Laughter.) "But," I said, "I am not prepared for this." They said, "Well, here is the invitation card for the members announcing that you will address them." (Laughter.) "But," I protested, "I am down to address the Women's Canadian Club." "Never mind," they said, "Come and address us first." (Laughter.)

Then on another occasion I fell into conversation, harmless conversation, with a certain distinguished

Judge in your Province, and we happened to talk about education. Suddenly he said, "Well, Harvey, you must come up to the Normal School and give them an address on this subject." (Laughter.) I said, "No, no, I know nothing about it." (Laughter.) "Besides, Lord Haldane has said all there is to say about education." "Never mind," he said, "come up and say something." And up I had to go and I found myself confronted by some hundreds of young ladies, to whom I had to talk on a subject I really knew nothing whatever about. (Laughter.)

Now, gentlemen, I must not enlarge too much upon these experiences because my time is limited, and I have a much more serious matter to talk about to you.

I have ventured to give to my address this afternoon the title of "Empire and Drama." Because it seems to me that by means of the drama we actors from the Old Country may help in a modest way to knit together those bonds which hold our Empire together. (Applause.) Certainly there exists no such vehicle as the drama as an instrument of appeal to the great mass of the people. The rulers of ancient Greece knew that when they provided for the populace free performances of the greatest tragedies of all time. The ancient Roman Church knew it when they used the morality and the mystery play to strengthen by its emotional appeal the faith of their flocks. And some similar presentiment seems to be astir in Canada. Namely, that there exists in serious drama an instrument, the use of which might be more carefully considered and applied to the cultivation and expression of national life in this Dominion. Something of this idea is responsible for the visit of my own company here. Some little time ago a leading spirit among your public men here said to my friend Mr. Wm. Hollis, "We are not satisfied with the condition of the theatre in Canada. We are very much at the mercy of merely speculative men who send us what they choose, and who are not in touch with Imperial and Canadian ideals in this country. (Hear, hear.) We want the growth of a sense of Empire continually encouraged here. We want stories of the old world's history set before us in drama that our youth may grow up in continual touch with that Empire, the free subjects of which in every corner of the globe should be bound together under the comradeship of the Union Jack." (Applause.)

Well, my friend, Mr. William Hollis, said in effect—he is a very enterprising and energetic gentleman—he said in effect—"Very well, I will see that it is done." It was a fairly large order but I think, gentlemen, you must confess in a little time that he was as good as his word. And so sprang into life the British-Canadian Theatre Organization under whose auspices I have the honour of traveling through this country. And it is a mighty proud reflection, gentlemen, to us that we are the first entirely British organization to bring serious drama from England for a tour confined solely and entirely to Canadian territory. (Applause.) It is hoped—and there is every reason why this hope should be realized—that, as time goes on, this British-Canadian enterprise will develop beyond its present scope. The ambition of the promoters is that as the supply of British companies like my own, is forthcoming—and that supply is practically already assured—this organization will join hands with New Zealand and Australia and India and Africa, and then a theatrical company will be able to start from London, travelling over what will be an all-red route, playing continuously all around the world under their own flag. (Applause.)

Now, I call that a splendid Imperial idea and it will, please God, be realized. (Hear, hear.) This dissatisfaction, however, with the present conditions of the drama in Canada seems to have been pretty widely felt through your Dominion.

I was reading only a day or two ago an address delivered by Mr. Bernard Sandwell in the Conservatory of Music, Hamilton, last August. Mr. Sandwell gives voice very pointedly to the suspicion that while there is no real occasion to worry about the economic future of Canada, there is some reason for consideration of her spiritual welfare.

In a recent address to a Canadian Club I ventured to repeat the warning of Scriptures, that "man shall not live by bread alone." (Applause.) There comes a time in the history of every new world when the thought of its leading spirits should be turned in the direction of other things than the material things of this life. I am not speaking of the practice of religious belief—I have no need to speak of that—but I am speaking of that other spiritualizing, humanizing power, art. Now, Mr. Sandwell, in reviewing the condition of art in this country, and more especially the dramatic art, points out that however excellent and admirable the technical qualities of the many distinctly American plays which visit this country may be, they deal after all, and very naturally, with their own problems. (Hear, hear.) He feels (and of course he speaks with much greater authority on the subject than I, who have only been here for a few weeks) that in the Canadian attitude towards the Old World there is something fundamentally different to the attitude of those across the line; that this element goes to the root of the Canadian character and must find an echo in its drama. It seems to me that Mr. Sandwell is right there, and in his contention that those who have the care of the national Canadian character at heart and the fostering of imperial ideas, must see it to it that in considering the things which mould that character and feelings, these ideals are not neglected. I should like, however, here and at once to interject a strong appeal that my words may not be misconstrued. Looking back upon the history of the Canadian stage, which has been so bound up with the stage of the United States, I think that Canada has every reason to be grateful for the influence which the many distinguished actors and actresses have brought to it, and who have upheld the highest traditions of dramatic art.

I know, gentlemen, that I am speaking to a sympathetic audience when I say that I have only to mention the names of Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, Joseph Jefferson, Madame Modjeska—who practically adopted the United States as her own country—and in later times of Mr. Edward Southern, Mr. Otis Skinner and many others who have borne aloft in the old days, and the younger of whom still bear aloft, the banner of legitimate and classical drama on this continent. (Applause.) Nor should we forget the loyal and devoted support the people of the United States as well as Canada gave so bountifully to my old chief Sir Henry Irving—(applause)—whose influence in the higher walks of the drama was as powerfully felt in Canada here as in his own country. I am sure, gentlemen, that no yearning for the expression of a more national feeling will ever blind us to the debt we owe to such distinguished names. But this mighty Canadian nation is a great fact, and in the words of Wordsworth:

> "It feels its life in every limb."

And the time is coming, if it is not already here, when it must express itself in art. It is doing so in some walks of art already. No one can look upon many of your recently erected public and city buildings, or upon those vast structures reared by the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk railways for their depots and their hotels, without feeling that Canada is already expressing herself with a very strong individuality in architecture; nor is evidence lacking of a virile national expression in much of the work of your pictorial art. But in the expression of herself in drama, that most vital of all arts—there is certainly room for growth. The time will no doubt soon come when the stuff of which this Continent is made will find voice in a national drama. Certainly the stories of those old heroes who played such a valiant part in the defence of their liberties, and later on in the moulding of the varied elements which compose this vast Dominion into a national entity, as also the conflict of racial characteristics which still goes on—these elements, I say, would form inspiring themes for the coming Canadian playwright. Such a drama must come in time. For the moment we are confronted with immediate difficulties. Mr. Sandwell hopes to find the solution of these difficulties in the founding of a repertoire theatre.

Well, gentlemen, the repertoire theatre movement has been an active one for some time on our side. It was a national reaction from the purely commercial managers of theatres, who were concerned simply in giving the people what they are supposed to want—though the effort of those who are supposed to give the people what they want brings them little more success, I think, than those who give the people what they want themselves. The repertoire theatre aimed at satisfying the craving of the "intellectuals," who were in the minority among play-goers, and very properly it seems to me, because the bulk of the people go to the theatre to have their emotions aroused, and not to satisfy their intellects. And the bulk of the people are right. Emotion is the sphere of art and not intellect, as Ruskin has pointed out. You will remember he allows the artist occasionally the use of his intelligence, but not at the expense of his own province, the emotions, and only when—as he most delightfully expresses it—he has nothing better to do. (Laughter.) At the same time there is no doubt that the repertoire theatre has done much good to the theatre at home. It has brought forward many brilliant dramatists—Shaw, Houghton, Galsworthy and others, and last, and greatest of all perhaps, the Irish poet Synge. It has broadened the appeal of the theatre among a class of theatregoers who were content before to take their drama in their study, and it has let in a gush of fresh air into an atmosphere which was decidedly stuffy with the accumulation of the worn-out devices of the stage.

But it is a very debateable question whether the repertoire theatre system will endure. And if it is not to endure I doubt whether it is worth your while to give it much serious attention. For the quality of endurance, it seems to me, is the very corner stone of that spectacle that Canada presents to us to-day. I would venture to suggest that Canada might go further than the founding of repertoire theatre. She might go to the length of founding a national or municipal theatre. (Hear, hear.) That is what we in the Old Country are aiming at to-day, and we are reaching it partly by the way of the repertoire theatre; but there is no need for you gentlemen to traverse a by-path when you can take a short cut to the goal.

Let me give you in a few words an outline of what we in the Old Country are engaged upon in this respect.

In 1916 we shall celebrate the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death. A movement was started some years back to erect a monument to him on this occasion worthy of the British race and of the stupendous genius we wish to honour. Some were for a sculptural monument; others—by far the greater number—saw an opportunity for the realization of a vision we had long contemplated, viz., the building of a national theatre. A general committee, embracing almost all the distinguished names in the British Isles, was formed and an Executive committee—of which I have the honour of being a member—was selected to carry out the scheme. We appealed for 500,000 pounds; roughly, 250,000 pounds for site and building and 250,000 pounds for endowing it. The supreme controlling authority is to be a body of governors, five appointed by the Crown, nine by the Universities and other public bodies and among the *ex-officio* governors one is to be the High Commissioner of Canada. (Applause.) Its objects are to give a Shakesperian play at least once a week; to revive any vital English classical drama, and to produce new plays and translations of representative work of foreign drama. A splendid stimulus was given to the undertaking by the gift from one anonymous donor of 70,000 pounds. Since then subscriptions have been coming in—not so fast, I am bound to say, as we could wish. I, myself, was able to add some thousand pounds to the fund by giving lectures on the project through the provincial cities and forming local committees pledged to carry on the work. We have now acquired a magnificent site opposite the British Museum, and we are in hopes that an enlightened Government—(laughter)—well, we are in hopes—(laughter)—that an enlightened Government will ultimately help by giving us a substantial grant, and thus giving proof that we in England recognize the claim which Shakespeare has upon the gratitude of all English-speaking people; the enormous educational value of the serious drama; the necessity of providing some standard of representation against the fluctuating tastes of succeeding generations of people, and the need of taking our place among the other enlightened countries of Europe, which already have their great national theatres, endowed by the state, the sovereign or the municipality. (Hear, hear.) It seems monstrous that we in England have neglected this matter so long and have left to the enterprise of self-sacrificing men like Sir Henry Irving to carry on his own shoulders the burden of an institution which in other countries has been subsidized by the state or the sovereign. The foundation of such an institution is the only permanent salvation of the drama in England, as it is the only permanent salvation of the drama in Canada. I hand the consideration of this matter to you, gentlemen, with a profound conviction that, in your determination to leave no stone unturned which shall be to the advantage and culture and education of your people, you will find no force so potent as the maintenance of national theatres throughout your Dominion.

Finally, you may ask me how I justify my allusions to our own project of a national theatre to the title of my address, "Drama and Empire." I justify it in foreshadowing the obvious outcome of national theatres here and at home, viz., the periodical exchange of the companies performing at their respective theatres. The permanent company associated with the national theatre in England will visit your great centres here, as you will send the companies which grow up in your national theatres here to visit us. The foundation of a chain of national theatres through the English speaking world would do more to tighten the bonds of Empire than all the utilitarian and political schemes put together. It will form a common ground of association for British people removed far above party questions, in an atmosphere of art and culture. And remember, gentlemen, that the great states of the world have covered themselves with more glory by their encouragement of the arts than anything else.

The patriotic man who will lead the way in such a movement will achieve a guerdon of renown and earn the gratitude of his fellow Britons more highly by this means than by any other. He will be creating a new and indestructible link which no question of political or local expediency will weaken. Do reflect upon it, gentlemen!

I was talking to a friend of mine over in Hamilton and he said; "If I go to my fellow citizens with this they will say, Yes, that is all very well, my dear fellow, but it is not business." Well, what if it is not business? We do a great many things in this world, gentlemen, which are not business. We apply ourselves to a great many ideals which are not business, and there may be no business, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, in a national theatre, but you do not expect your museums to pay; you do not expect any return for your endowments of music, you do not expect your picture galleries to pay, and therefore you have no reason to expect a great educational force like the drama to pay. There is no question of loyalty in this Dominion. (Applause.) Nothing is more profoundly moving, gentlemen, to the traveller than the spectacle here of your unswerving loyalty to the Crown and the Motherland. (Applause.) Well, forge another bond; shape and weld us together on the common ground of that most potent human appeal, the drama. Let me alter one word and conclude with the lines of Barry Straton:

"Shall we not all be one race
  Shaping and welding the nation?
Is not our Country too broad
  For the schisms that rend petty lands?
Yea, we shall join in our might
  And keep sacred our firm Federation,
Shoulder to shoulder arrayed
  Hearts open to hearts, hands to hands."

THE DRAMA AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

An Address by LAURENCE IRVING, Esq., before the Empire Club of Canada, March 12th, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The President has made a very charming reference to my father, and it is with a reference to him that I shall open the few words that I have to address to you. It was in the person of my father that the drama, that is to say, the interpretational side of the drama, received the highest recognitions that have yet been bestowed upon it. As you know, my father was the first actor who had the honour of knighthood given to him, and he is the second actor—Garrick was the first—whose honoured bones have been laid to rest in Westminster Abbey. (Applause.) Therefore one may truly say that in his person the art of the actor was honoured by the Sovereign, and was sanctioned—one might even say hallowed—by the Church. There is no doubt that with every noble art, the greater the honours that are bestowed upon it, the greater the responsibilities which it assumes; and now that the stage has been endorsed—using the term in its widest sense—as a necessary and useful branch of public service, it certainly behooves the stage, and it behooves the public to see that it shall not derogate from the eminence on which it has been placed. (Applause.) My wife and myself received vicariously the greatest social honour that Canada could bestow upon us the other day when His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught honoured us by asking us to lunch at Government House, and it was delightful to hear the broad, intelligent, and interested spirit in which he spoke of things dramatic, and the pleasure he expressed at the organization which has brought us out, and his hope of what would be its utility in the future in joining the tastes of the great

Canadian public and of the English people. I do not wish to mention this in any spirit of vainglory, I merely wish to emphasise the fact the drama now practically has lived down all enmity and hostility. On Tuesday I received the great honour of being invited to speak before your splendid University. I was able to take a short, cursory view of its magnificent site, and its President pointed out to me its multifarious faculties; and I feel that when the stage is thus welcomed on the one hand by those who are in authority over us, and on the other hand by those who are specially occupied in instructing us, the stage must accordingly live up to this generous recognition.

I think, gentlemen, that the stage is at present in an exceedingly healthy condition. It may be that some of us regret that so much dramatic work at the present time is devoted to diagnosing, and in many cases suggesting remedies, and in some finding remedies, for social abuses and social misdirection of energy. I believe that the English race is credited with being not so susceptible, not so ready to embrace new ideas and act upon them with immediate impetus, as some other races, and therefore in pointing out how the drama can be a lever for social amelioration, I would direct your attention particularly to a French writer, Eugene Brieux. Brieux has already by two of his plays brought forth certain changes in French legislation. He dealt, in a play called La Roman Pleasant, with a subject that may not seem to you very dramatic, but certainly in his hands it was very poignant, and that was the subject of wet nurses. He also, in La Robe Rouge, dealt with the method of preliminary investigation as employed by French law, and he again produced certain changes in the law, whereby now the accused man is no longer left at the mercy of an expert judge, but is allowed to have in the room with him his counsel, so that he is given a better chance of what the English call fair play. Then there is the very vexed question of a certain play of Brieux', which is now being played in the United States, which is entirely banned in England, called Damaged Goods. I do not know if you are aware what the subject of that play is, but Bernard Shaw in his preface to Brieux' plays has told us that Brieux was invited to read that play from the pulpit in a church in Geneva, and he did so. The subject of that play is venereal disease, and though I have not seen it I have read it, and I certainly think that that play might have a tremendous deterrent power and might be of the greatest value if it were presented to young men when they have arrived at a dangerous age which is open to temptation. For my own part, I do not hold at all with the British censorship. I think, first of all, it is in the hands of the wrong men. They are in the nature of court officials. I should think that the gentleman whom I met and who discussed with me whether another of Brieux's play should be represented or not, and who decided in the negative, I should think he would be excellent at a fox hunt, but I did not feel that he was at all qualified to weigh ethical values in dramatic art. And what has happened at present in England, unfortunately, to my mind, is that the obviously prurient play is allowed to pass, and that plays which are written merely and entirely with the idea of exposing, perhaps ruthlessly, some evil or some danger, are forbidden. In fact the censorship seems to work upon the theory that one should not call a spade a spade. He also objects to your calling it a bloody shovel. (Laughter.) A very amusing, though regrettable, thing took place when Sir Herbert Tree was producing a play which dealt seriously with certain moral matters. It was intimated to him that the Censor would like to have a little chat with him on the matter. He went down and the censor began to raise his objections, and Sir Herbert said, "But what do you object to? This play is very serious, it seems to me; it is set forth with admirable truth, without levity." "Yes," said the censor, "I know, but then you see the play deals with adultery." "True," said Sir Herbert, "I know, that is unquestionable." "Well," said the censor, "if only you could manage to make the adultery comic." (Laughter.) That is the attitude in the official mind. Any salacious farce, anything with ten doors in a small hotel, and putting in and out promiscuously, passes; but when we get to the work of Maeterlinck, some of Tolstoy, and the majority of Brieux', it is banned. I think we should remember that the earliest forms of drama found their sanction in religion, and were under the aegis of the priesthood. This fact is clearly exemplified in Greek tragedy, which was a species of ritual of prayer and praise, and of the inculcation of obedience to the commands of high heaven, and of acceptance of the governance of the world by the deities of the Greek mythology. We see the same thing in Medieval times, where the priesthood themselves took part in, and chiefly wrote the plays. I would particularly like to call your attention to a play called Everyman, which was a most beautiful exposition of the highest form of truly catholic and spiritual faith, and which when it was produced here, as when it was produced in London and in the United States, had a tremendous effect upon many who were impervious or indifferent or unaware of the power which the stage could wield when it was nobly handled. And I was told the other day at Toronto University of a curious and very significant fact. When that play was being presented here, amongst the audience there were two ministers of state—I do not mean ministers of religion. When the play had travelled through about half its course, both these gentlemen got up and left the theatre. In two months from that time both of them were disgraced and ruined. I do not suggest that there was any witchcraft in the matter, but I think that the lesson of that play had struck them so to the heart, as Shakespeare phrases it in Hamlet, that they found it hard to endure it any further. I hope you will acquaint yourselves, if you are not acquainted, with that work, and with the beautiful allegory it gives one. Everyman is at last forsaken by Beauty, and Power and Wealth, and all the other allegorical figures, and is left alone to face Desolation and the Judgment of Heaven, with only Good Deeds to befriend him. And that reminds me of something very beautiful that I read in a book that was written the other day by a Burman on the faith of the Burmese. They have no recognized clergy, but when a Burman is dying, it is the custom that any neighbour of his that is particularly his friend, should call upon him and should remind him of all the little acts of kindness that he has ever performed. I remember it quotes in this book particularly one instance where this friend and comforter reminded the man of how he jumped into the water and rescued a little puppy from drowning. That may not seem a world-shaking act, but at any rate to me it is a beautiful idea that consolation should be sought and administered in that way.

Gentlemen, we rely upon you, we rely upon the heads of this great community, the business heads of it, to assist us in representing plays that are entirely worthy, that are elevating, and at the same time that are rational entertainment for hard-worked, intelligent, but sometimes tired men. For my own part, I believe the tired business man as he is represented to one, is a libel. He does not rush only to musical comedy. I wish he did not rush at all to musical comedy. I believe that he, as much as any man, can first of all supply the material for drama, and also can appreciate the best things that are in drama; because as far as I can see there is something intensely dramatic in controlling a great business. It calls forth all the faculties that one desires in an audience, and I am sure in almost every man it must bring out a vast amount of human sympathy. One does not wish to act before, and does not wish one's audience to be made up of men who are not striving in the world, and assiduously labouring to some big end, and it seems to me that it is a most hopeful sign that commerce should have reached the tremendous position that it has now. I think there is a lot in the saying, Work and Pray. I think that it is interesting to contrast the entirely opposite judgment which has been formed by the Japanese and the Chinese. I have had a good deal of interest lately aroused in me by the Japanese as to the value of human activities and human qualities. To the Chinese the merchant is the most important member of the community, he is the most honoured, and consequently, I am told, the Chinese merchant, being honoured is honourable. On the other hand, among the Japanese it is the warrior who has always been most looked up to, and the merchant had no higher status in feudal Japan than had the peasant or the small shop keeper; and in consequence the Japanese merchant, I am told, is not to be relied upon. I hope and believe that with the tremendous pre-eminence of industry, and with labour in whatever form, looked up to above all other human activities, we shall gradually arrive at the era of universal peace, and I believe that the British Empire is going to be a vast factor in that final consummation. If I did not think so, I should not care what became of it. I must say that if anything is strong in my heart—you will excuse me speaking to you very frankly—if there is anything I detest it is war, in fact I do not mind confessing that sooner than raise my hand against one of my fellowmen, if I were called upon, I would take the rifle which the State had placed in my hands, and I would blow off my own head. Another thing I equally detest is vivisection. It is true I am wandering somewhat from the drama, but I think the drama is upholding and is preaching very loudly the approaching brotherhood of man, and the amalgamation of national interests and national concerns. I think that the drama is helping to clear away much of the tangle and jungle, the quagmire that to a great extent pollutes our modern civilization. There is no doubt that anyone who follows the drama with attention will see that it is striving and striving hard to turn men's attentions to the preventibility of much of the wretchedness, and it is also striving to enlighten races and nations as to one another, and to show that kindness and charity and generosity and self-denial are not the qualities and the inheritance of any one particular race. (Applause.) I read the other day a book that made me feel intensely proud that I belonged to the Anglo-Saxon race. It is a book which I think everyone who loves his nationality should read. It is called The Making of an Englishman. It is written by a gentleman who is a personal friend of mine, and who has been able to approach this subject from an exceptional standpoint. Although his name is English—W. L. George—he is of French parentage on one side, he was brought up entirely in France, and he has served in the French army. In that book he describes how thus inbued with French ideas he come over to

England and he reveals to one, as perhaps only one so circumstanced could reveal, what it is that makes the English race an exceptional race in history, and what is that peculiar quality which has enabled it to spread its dominions so far over the face of the world. He willingly grants all that we are always being told, that we are slow, that we do not eagerly respond to ideas, that we are snobbish, that we are conservative by nature; all this he concedes, but what astonishes me, and what he so wonderfully sets forth as a Frenchman, what wins him to us, and what ultimately turns him at heart into an Englishman as far as he can become, is that innate sense of just dealing and of fair play. (Applause.) He is most astonished, sitting at his host's table when his English friends fall to discussing the question of the Church of England and of Nonconformity. He is amazed to hear that his host, though himself a Churchman, should be quite strongly pleading for justice to the Nonconformist that the Nonconformist should be allowed to educate his children in the way he thinks fit. He cannot at first make this out at all; he is seeking for the secret of the English, and gradually he begins to see that this spirit, the spirit which is fostered in the English Public School, that has lately had so many rotten eggs thrown at it, the spirit that is fostered in the playing fields that Wellington lauded when he spoke of the playing fields of Eton, the spirit that you bring into your games of hockey and football; and he sees it is that great education in moral character that makes the Englishman, as he eventually decides, superior at any rate as a ruler, as a guide amongst men to his fellows upon the continent.

Well, Mr. President and gentlemen, perhaps I have not confined myself as strictly to the subject in hand as I did when I addressed the University, but on that occasion, feeling myself under severely critical eyes, and for fear lest I should myself use any word, or put any word in its wrong place, or lose the thread of my argument, surrounded as I was by members and professors, I read what I had to say; but on this occasion you have encouraged me just to speak straight on to the best of my ability from my heart, and I hope, gentlemen, that you will never find me in any way derogating from the name which I have inherited, or as I have said, from the position in which the community has now placed our art. In order to do that, you will have to visit the theatre—(Laughter)—which you can do for prices ranging from two dollars to fifty cents. (Applause and laughter.)

(Note: The Empire Club learned with sincere regret that Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Irving were lost in the Empress of Ireland on their return voyage from Canada, and a message of condolence was sent to their family.—Editor.)

THE SAFEGUARDING OF IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY

An Address by VENERABLE ARCHDEACON CODY, D.D., LL.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, March 19, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

In the past, empires have usually been characterized by great centralization of administration, and the reins of empire have been held by a few persons. It is a new thing in the history of the world to have an empire such as the British Empire is, and to have the ruling power in that empire wielded by a democracy. The British Empire is so much by us taken for granted, that we fail to realize how unique and new a thing it is in world history. By a process of evolution there has come into existence in our British Empire a new kind of government, and in producing this new kind of government our Dominion of Canada has played a great part. Let me explain. The British Empire has not grown up as the result of a deliberate national policy, but we seem to have stumbled upon the best parts of the habitable globe and "blundered" into an imperial inheritance. So long as there was any foreign policy at all in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was a bad foreign policy. But our forefathers learned the lesson, and to-day, although there is no Greater France, or Greater Portugal, or Greater Holland, there is really a Greater Britain. That period of bad foreign policy was succeeded by the period of indifference of the "cut the painter" policy, when the colonies were regarded more or less as an encumbrance. To-day, happily, that stage is well past, and we are in the heyday of the new imperialism. But, gentlemen, the characteristic features of the British Empire are the largest possible measure of self-government in the great dominions, and an imperial unity. The hands of the clock, I believe, will never be turned back. Whatever developments there are in the imperial system, they will never be made at the cost of local autonomy. In proportion as self-government has been granted, in such proportion has loyalty been increased. (Applause.) More than a hundred years ago, when the states in the land to the south of us were seeking for a larger measure of self-government, it seemed according to the political standards of that age that the only way in which they could get what they craved for, was by the process of independence. Perhaps we do not fully realize the alternatives that alone seemed possible in that age of political development. But when in the nineteenth century in our own Dominion there came the struggle for local self-government, for representative government, for those priceless possessions that we hold dear to us to-day, there was discovered by the combined wit of British statesmen and Canadian leaders, a new solution for the old problem,—the combination of local self-government and imperial unity; so that to-day we have an ever-growing measure of self-government, and an ever tightening band of imperial unity. (Applause.) We take it so much for granted, that positively we do not realize that this was a new experiment in empire-building.

But side by side with that development of a new thing in imperialism, whereby a group of great self-governing dominions, control their own tariffs, deal with their own local affairs, determine their own national policy, and yet are loyal to the Sovereign and throne of Great Britain,—side by side with the growth of that new imperialism, there has gone the growth of the new democracy. To-day democracy in every part of the Empire where there is local self-government, is entering into its inheritance with a freshness and vigour that mark a new epoch. There can be no question to-day that the ultimate source of power lies with the people. The democracy is thoroughly loyal to the Crown, but the Crown to-day is the representative rather than the ruler of the people. (Applause.) The Crown is the symbol of the unity and continuity of our national and imperial life. As such, above all the vicissitudes of party strife, dominating the life of the common people, it can render incalculable service to the democracy by at once appealing to its imagination and acting as a trustee whereby the power and claim of unity and continuity may be secured for the people. (Applause.) As such, monarchy was never more firmly based than it is to-day, never more necessary than it is to-day, to maintain the unity and continuity of our Empire. Democracy has entered into its inheritance; it is coming to the day of its power. At the same time, the democracy has come to the day of its testing. What use is it going to make in this twentieth century, of the power it has increasingly won in the nineteenth? Democracy in itself does not carry its own vindication; it does not come by right divine; it is a form of government, and must justify itself by its power to govern. It is not a great idol before which we must fall down and say, "Great is Democracy." It is at best an ideal to be served. How is it going to work out?

Viscount Bryce has well said in a most suggestive book on the Hindrance to Citizenship, that there is a gulf unfortunately between the theory of democracy and what democracy actually reveals. The theory of democracy, where the suffrage is virtually universal, is that every citizen is an intelligent, public-spirited, honest servant of his country's good. That is the assumption, and the assumption is not always borne out by the facts. We must all admit that. (Laughter.) What use, now, is democracy to make of its power? The imperial democracy is confronted with some of the greatest problems that ever have been set before a people. I said before that empires in the past have usually been administered by some small bodies of men, by oligarchies, but here and in the Motherland the democracy has power and ultimately determines imperial policy. There is the problem not only of building up—that has been done—but of holding together this heterogeneous empire, made up of free dominions and lands peopled by men of all colours and creeds and civilization and ideals. Will the new democracy show itself equal to practical imperialism? The democracy in our own Dominion of Canada is faced with great problems. One of our great journals the other day referred to that "wasp-like waist" of the Dominion of Canada between the east and west; a good simile, and it suggests a real danger. Will that wasp-like waist ever break in two? One great problem is to keep the democracy of east and west together. We have the problem of assimilation,—to make the new comers adopt our ideals, to understand the principles of our government, to share with us in the common hopes and aspirations that have led our fathers thus far on the way to national life. In addition to those problems that history and position have laid upon the democracy, beyond a shadow of doubt the democracy of this century is going to set itself to another distribution of wealth. If the nineteenth century is the century that marks the great production of wealth, the twentieth century will have as its great problem a wider distribution of wealth. No man can shut his eyes to this problem in front of us; by vote, by legislative action, by combination of workers, in some way or other, the industrial democracy is going to seek for itself a larger share of the results of labour.

Of all forms of government, democracy most of all demands efficiency in the individual citizen. What I wanted to-day to say to you was that the elements that go to make up and to safeguard an efficient imperial democracy will be found in certain characteristics of the citizens. These I wish to sum up under five or six heads.

The first element that enters into an efficient democracy is the *deepened sense of individual civic responsibility*. Every man in a democracy is directly responsible for the results of government. In an oligarchy or a monarchy, or perhaps in any form of tyranny, the subjects are only to be docile, but in a democracy every man is responsible. The great basic weak point of our democratic system is summed up in the old proverb, "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." A duty that is shared by many seems to be less of a personal duty than one that is laid upon us solely. The great task is to increase the number of citizens who really care. Indifference becomes a national danger when the power of government is in the hands of the indifferent.

We must increase the number of people who really care, care enough to think, care enough to write, to speak, and to act.

The second element of efficiency is *education*. An ignorant democracy is the greatest possible danger that can arise in any community, and under any form of government. When the people are sovereign, they must be instructed. As we look back on our educational development, after all, how little have we been able to accomplish! We spend millions of money; we have taught people to read; how difficult it is to teach them to read the right things, to distinguish between good literature and bad literature! The number of readers is increasing enormously the whole world over. How easy it is to learn to read, how hard it is to learn to think. We have people who are instructed so as to be able to read and to listen to speeches. How difficult it is in regard to speeches to tell the difference between sentimentality and sense, between reason and rant, between force and fluency! One of the results of true education is to know the differences between things, between apparent knowledge and real knowledge. The only remedy for half-education is fuller education, and not ignorance. The democracy is compelled to go forward on the line of sound wide-spread education. (Applause.)

Thirdly, an element of efficiency may be called *loyalty to leadership*. Now it is well to say that democracy means equality; it means in a sense equality of opportunity; but it does not mean that one man's opinion is as good as another's and that every man can do as he likes. I was looking at a cartoon in *Punch* the other day. The scene of it is laid in Ireland; the proprietor of a certain piece of land is driving down a lane and he finds a man trespassing. The man is a typical countryman, with his black thorn in his hand. On the farther side of a gate he remonstrates "Trespassing is it? Just wait till we get Home Rule and every man will do as he likes, and them that won't will be made to." "Every man to do as he likes"—it is a popular definition of democracy, but a false definition. The difference between democracy and other forms of government is just this, that in the democracy you choose your own leaders, but you do not dispense with the necessity for leadership. No form of government needs leadership more than democracy. (Applause.) A democracy without sound leadership is but a mob, and may be the prey of every designing knave. Are we going to choose as leaders, men independent, men who will tell us what they believe, or men dependent, who will tell us only what they think will please us; men who will flatter the multitude to use their power to get what they can for themselves, or men who will speak the truth to the multitude and try and lead the multitude to give what they can to the public weal? Gentlemen, I believe that statesmanship, in the long run, always pays better than mere politics,—(Applause)—and that the man in public life who always appeals to the highest, who gives his opponents the fullest credit for good intentions, who stands on the highest and most honourable plane, and puts character and the good of his country first, last, and all the time, will in the long run be the man who will win and hold the votes of his country. (Applause.) It is a profound mistake, I believe, to think that mere party advantage, the attempt to score off anything, is going to strengthen permanently any political leader. We want leadership, we must have the best, and the democracy must be loyal to its best leaders.

And the fourth element is the element of *discipline.* An old thinker on politics, Plato, the Greek philosopher, described democracy as giving the reins to the emotions and impulses and anarchical elements in human nature; and there sometimes is a danger lest that picture should be realized. It is absurd to neglect the impulses of great masses of men; it is foolish to ignore them, it is impossible to stop them; the part of wisdom is to guide them. Now the democracy can never do without discipline. It must have the discipline of patience. It must be willing to change slowly, and to remember in making an economic or industrial change that it is an easy thing to break down one industrial system, but a desperately hard thing to build up a better; that it is foolish, in making changes for the better in the future, to neglect the experience of the past. Short cuts are proverbially dangerous in making permanent improvements. There must be also the discipline of work. To earn a living by doing nothing is a science much craved for by some, but it is bad, inherently bad. There must, in the discipline to which the democracy will subject itself, be the recognition of the honour and honesty and thoroughness of work. There must be the discipline of conscience. This brings us to the quick of things. That is the one personal sovereignty which the democracy dare never put off the throne.

The last element of effective citizenship to which I would refer is the element of *disinterestedness.* The political prophets who wrote from 1830 to 1870—as you may see in almost every book of that period—thought that the mere advent of democracy would of itself bring order and industry and prosperity. That prophecy has not been realized. We are finding out that the increased extension of state activity is bringing with it new temptations, that the same old opportunity to seek his own advantage is presented to the democrat, even as it was presented to the aristocrat in days gone by. There is a danger that the majority may seek its own material advantage to the serious loss of the minority. It has well been said that the test of a noble democracy will be found in its treatment of minorities. (Applause.) And you can have class legislation just as much on the part of a majority as on the part of a minority. Of course we must have majority government; it is the only way, rough and ready, in which we can carry on our government. Somebody put it this way, "'The majority is an ass." Well, the answer is obvious that the minority also may be an ass, and we have agreed to allow the more numerous ass to carry the day. At any rate we can never turn back in this process of development. As the state interferes more and more, takes over—shall we say—public services, handles increasing sums of money, the opportunities to self-interest in a wider range are increased. Therefore from the citizens of this imperial democracy we must call for a wider, a more exacting and disinterested public service.

Gentlemen, after all is said and done, you cannot get away from the problem of character that lies underneath the democratic form of government, as under every form of government. In fact, it is only from and through the will and spirit of the people that permanent improvement can be made. Your central problem is always the ethical problem. That famous authority on the housing of the poor, the late Miss Octavia Hill, who was a practical reformer as well as a theoretical one, who built many houses for the better housing of the needy, said that the centre of the problem lay in the person. The degraded, she said, live in poor houses, partly because of their poverty, but more because of their character. The house may be good, but if the character has not in some way or other been brought up to the level, it will deteriorate the house. The problem comes back at last to this, "Does the pig make the sty or the sty make the pig?" It is an interesting problem of life. It is only another way of saying that the problem of character must always be taken into account along with the problem of conditions.

Here we are, gentlemen, in this our broad Dominion, one section of the imperial democracy. We have half a continent as the material basis for our national structure; we have as the raw material the sons and daughters of the races that have led in the march of civilization; we have all the experience of the past to be our guide; we have a glowing hope in our hearts; we have a unique opportunity before us in world service. We have the fear of God in our hearts. Surely this imperial democracy in Canada should rear as fair a national fabric as has ever been erected by the wit of man and under the guidance of God! (Applause.)

WAR AND EMPIRE

An Address by Sir John Willison, LL.D., F.R.S.C., before the Empire Club of Canada, April 2nd, 1914.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

One grows impatient sometimes over the impression which seems to prevail somewhat widely that an imperialist necessarily loves war, hates his neighbour, and is happy only when blood is flowing. Then there is a school which combines with complete faith in itself a profound distrust of other people, which seems to entertain the conviction that those of us who advocate a strong British navy for the Empire, are the paid agents of the manufacturers of guns and ammunition, and engaged in some mischievous and desperate conspiracy to make strife among the nations. All I have to say, remembering that I have advocated a strong navy for the British Empire for a good many years, is that if there is such a fund available for those who are engaged in this work, I am a long way in arrears, and I imagine a good many of the rest of us have not been able to get the place on the pay roll to which we are fairly entitled! The most severe judgment that can be passed upon these people is that many of them actually seem to believe what they say, which suggests that there is a wide separation between the preaching of peace and the practice of charity. I do not imagine that it is necessary to impress upon anyone who lives in our age the horrors of war, and I imagine that any properly constituted man or woman would sacrifice something to bring in the thousand years of peace. But what is there in the world to-day to suggest that human nature has materially changed its character during all the centuries? We still have wars; we have race wars, we have labour riots, more destructive than ever before in our history, and we have all those manifestations from year to year which indicate that the time of peace, for which we all hope, is unfortunately long in the future. Why, I have in my mind a peace orator who never mounts a platform without devoting half a dozen sentences to the military achievements of his ancestors. (Laughter.) It is true, now as always, that peace comes by power and not by preaching, although we should still proclaim human brotherhood, while "Blessed are the peacemakers" is a benediction that all of us might covet.

The Asquith Government in Great Britain is the most radical and the most peace loving government that ever has held office in the Old Country. They came into office pledged solemnly to the people to reduce naval and military expenditures. They came into office pledged to great measures of social and industrial reform. In the main,—whether wisely or unwisely, generally wisely, I think—they have carried out their measures of reform; a conclusive evidence to my mind that these British Ministers have not changed their character since they came into office. And if they have been true to all their pledges except the single pledge to reduce naval and military expenditures, the reason, to my mind, is because, knowing the inner conditions of Europe as we cannot know them, they dare not with proper regard for the security of the great interests in their charge, they dare not reduce naval and military expenditures. (Applause.) Let me give you a short statement by Mr. Asquith a week or so ago. He said, "It could not be supposed that it was any satisfaction to the Government whose political ambitions were set upon social reforms, to ask large sacrifices from the taxpayers for the purpose of maintaining military and naval security. Still, security we must have. Without security, trade, our world-wide interests, the commerce of the Empire, and our national existence at home and abroad, would be imperilled and might any time become impossible."

That is the statement of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, knowing all the conditions which exist in the Old World, and as I have said, the leader of the most peace-loving and the most radical government that has ever held office in the Mother Country. We can well imagine that if with any due regard to imperial safely such expenditures could be reduced, the cabinet would not resist forty per cent. of its supporters, oppose the peace element which is so powerful in the British Liberal Party, and insist at the risk of dissension and disunion on asking the British Parliament for constantly increasing expenditures for naval and military purposes. Let me give you another quotation. I have not seen the case stated so well anywhere as in the closing paragraphs of Mr. Winston Churchill's address a few days ago, in introducing the naval estimates for 1914 in the British House of Commons. The speech has just arrived in the British newspapers. He said, "We have responsibilities in many quarters to-day. We are far from being detached from the problems of Europe. We have passed through a year of continuous anxiety, and although His Majesty's Government believe foundations of peace among the great powers have been strengthened, yet the causes which might lead to a general war have not been removed, and often remind us of their presence. There has not been the slightest abatement of naval and military preparation. On the contrary we are witnessing this year increases of expenditure on armaments by Continental Powers beyond all previous experience. The world is arming as it never was armed before. Every suggestion for arrest or limitation has so far been ineffectual. From time to time awkward things happen, and situations occur which make it necessary that the naval force at our immediate disposal, now in this quarter and now in that, should be rapidly counted up. On such occasions the responsibilities which rest on the Admiralty come home with brutal reality to those who are responsible, and unless our naval strength were solidly, amply, and unswervingly maintained, the government could not feel that they were doing their duty to the country." (Hear, hear.)

During the last year we had the brutal and bloody war in the Balkans, and no one could be certain from day to day that the whole of Europe might not be involved. I think there is general agreement that the one outstanding influence which prevented the general embroilment of Europe was the power of Great Britain, the vigilance and wisdom of Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister. (Applause.) But let me ask this question, and let us give it a frank and candid answer: What power would Sir Edward Grey have had to preserve the peace of Europe if he had not had the British navy at his back? (Hear, hear.) I am glad that I am not required to go to the Old Country on business just now; I would not care to go for pleasure. It does seem to me that in so far as defence of this Empire is concerned, the position which Canada occupies is one which should distress all of us. (Hear, hear.) That is not the utterance of a partisan; I am not assessing responsibility for the situation; I am speaking simply as a British-Canadian, profoundly anxious to recover his self-respect. (Applause.)

The only justification for great expenditures for defence are that such expenditures are necessary to secure the world's peace and to guarantee the safety and the integrity of the institutions which we cherish. I am not sure just how strongly Mr. Roosevelt counts as an authority in Canada. Many of us did not regard Mr. Taft very favourably; he came here a few weeks ago, and most of us were grateful that he had not come here during the last general election. So perhaps if Mr. Roosevelt came to Canada we might regard him favourably also. In his recent autobiography he says, "There is every reason why we should try to limit the cost of armaments as these tend to grow excessive, but there is also every reason to remember that in the present state of civilization a proper armament is the surest guarantee of peace, and is the only guarantee that war, if it does come, will not mean irreparable and overwhelming disaster." A very striking speech was made at Vancouver three or four years ago by Lord Milner, who, although strongly imperialistic, and sometimes classed as a jingo, is, I believe, as fair-minded and moderate-minded a man, as concerned for peace when peace is the possible policy, as any other man who holds a position of influence in the British Empire. In this speech at Vancouver he argued at length, and I think conclusively, that the armaments of a nation were powerful to insure a nation's security, and powerful to insure its peace, if war never came. He pointed out that it is credit which determines the power and influence of nations, just as it does the fate of any business. "Credit in business rests ultimately on the possession or command of cash, though the owners may never actually have to produce it. And so the influence and authority of a nation, its power to defend its rightful interests, depend ultimately on that fighting strength in war, which it nevertheless may never be called upon to use. See," he said, "what is happening in Europe to-day. International boundaries are being altered. Solemn treaties are being torn up. Yet not a shot has been fired, probably not a shot will be. The strong will prevail and the weak will go to the wall without any such necessity."

Do we ever think, sir, of the rapid changes that occur in the relations between nations? Twenty years ago the familiar phrase among us was that Great Britain stood in "splendid isolation." Her understanding with the United States was not as satisfactory as it might have been; she did not seem to have a friend in Europe. Only a few years have passed, and to-day Great Britain has an alliance with Japan, an understanding with France, good relations with Russia, and a better understanding with the United States than has prevailed between these two countries for a century. Of course I recognize that Great Britain never can stand again in complete isolation as she did twenty years ago, because at least she will always have the support of the Canadian Navy. (Laughter.) But we have no guarantee that in a few years Great Britain may not again, through conflict of interests and the operation of national and international prejudices, stand alone, just as she stood alone twenty years ago. And so long as we are unable to guarantee permanent relations among nations, each nation desiring to maintain and exercise its authority in the world, must exercise it by the human agencies of a navy and an army.

Those of you who are familiar with the history of the middle of the last century will remember that when the first international exhibition, known as the Hyde Park Exhibition, took place in London, there seemed to be an impression amongst the nations that this exhibition was the actual beginning of the permanent reign of peace on the earth, because, men said, it is inconceivable,—and it ought to be inconceivable, I grant you—that when the representatives of all nations gathered in a great peace festival, it would be impossible that these nations should ever again meet on the field of battle. But let me give you what Mr. Justin McCarthy says in his History of Our Own Times: "Golden indeed were the expectations with which hopeful people welcomed the exhibition of 1851. It was the first organized to gather all the representatives of the world's industry into one great fair; and there were those who seriously expected that men who had once been prevailed upon to meet together in friendly and peaceful rivalry would never again be persuaded to meet in rivalry of a fiercer kind. It seems extraordinary now to think that any sane person can have indulged in such expectations, or can have imagined that the tremendous forces generated by the rival interests, ambitions and passions of races, could be subdued into harmonious co-operation by the good sense and good feeling born of a friendly meeting. The Hyde Park Exhibition, and all the exhibitions that followed it, have not as yet made the slightest perceptible difference in the warlike tendencies of nations. Th Hyde Park Exhibition was often described as the festival to open a long reign of peace. It might, as a mere matter of chronology be called without any impropriety the festival to celebrate the close of the short reign of peace. From that year, 1851, it may be said fairly enough that the world has hardly known a week of peace. The Coup d'Etat in France closed the year. The Crimean War began almost immediately after, and was followed by the Indian Mutiny, and that by the war between France and Austria, the long Civil War in the United States, the Neapolitan enterprises of Garibaldi and the Mexican intervention, until we come to the war between Austria, Prussia and Denmark, the short, sharp struggle for German supremacy between Austria and

Prussia, the war between France and Germany, and the war between Russia and Turkey. Such were, in brief summary, the events that quickly followed the great inaugurating festival of peace in 1851."

It is a curious fact, but, I believe, a fact, that all the wars of the last half century were deliberately planned and plotted. In not a single instance were they the result of sudden passion or a sudden disturbance among the nations. It is also true, if you think for a moment, that nearly every war during the last half century, that between Prussia and Austria, and France and Prussia or Germany, that between Japan and China, that between Russia and Japan, every one of these great wars had a result the reverse of what the majority of thinking people expected; just as the war in the Balkans had the result which few people expected. If you will read the British newspapers during the early days of the struggle in the Balkans, you will find a general prediction that a few weeks would give a complete victory to Turkey. We believed that France would succeed against Germany; most of us believed that China would overwhelm Japan; perhaps there was more doubt as to the war between Japan and Russia; but in nearly all of these great conflicts the result has been just what the world did not expect, and the reason, as signally demonstrated in the Balkans, was that the nations that were victors had deliberately planned the war, and were fully prepared for the issue when it came. And while I am not a soldier I am inclined to the view that the nation which plans for war has twenty-five per cent. of advantage over the nation which does not expect war, does not desire war, and lets war come.

Now, if during all these years when war has covered the face of the earth, if during all these years Great Britian has not been involved in a conflict with any of the great nations, is there any other explanation than that the British navy secured the Mother Country and its dominions from molestation? (Applause.) A book was published the other day; I heard a member read voluminous extracts from it in a fervent manner in the Canadian Parliament. It was written by Mr. Hirst, editor of the

London *Economist,* and he calls it "The Six Panics," and in it he endeavours almost to demonstrate that all apprehension of war is a panic, and that behind all such apprehensions is "the armament trust," of which I spoke in the beginning. If I had been asked to name this book I should have called it "Faith as a Food," or "Half Holidays with the Angels." There are two kinds of persons who never think: The extreme Tory and the extreme Radical. (Laughter.) The extreme Tory is sometimes right, because his faith rests in some degree on human experience. The extreme Radical is seldom or never right because he considers regard for human experience as a sign of weakness and develops his opinions absolutely out of his prejudices and his imagination. (Laughter.) There has been apprehension of war that was not well founded, but those who believe in reasonable measures to preserve the security of their institutions surely are not to be held responsible for every hare-brained person who may think a war is in prospect. The vital thing is to be ready when war comes, so long as we are certain that we live in a world and in an age in which wars may come. We know that a few years ago France and England were on the very verge of war, and only two years ago only the alliance with Great Britain prevented war between France and Germany; and as I have said, probably only the strength of the British navy, as expressed in the person of Sir Edward Grey, prevented a European conflict during this last year.

Now, you may ask me why I suspect other nations of designs against Great Britain, and hold Great Britain guiltless of designs against other nations. Well, because for a century Great Britain has waged no war of conquest against any great nation, because she desires no extension of territory, because her commercial interests and her political relations bind her to peace, and because among the great nations, in my judgment, the only two that are absolutely fit for self-government are Great Britain and the United States. I would exclude even France, because I do not believe that even yet France is secure against a temporary development of feeling that would permit the ascendancy of another Napoleon. The reasons which lead Great Britain to shun war and to love peace are the reasons which excite other nations against the world-wide authority of the empire. Great Britain has to be strong, not for conquest but for security, and not only for her own security, but for the security of her outlying dominions and of the four hundred millions of people who live under her flag. I do not believe, whatever theorists may say—neither do you—that India or Egypt is fit for self-government, any more than I believe that Mexico is fit for self-government, and I do sincerely believe no other nation in the world is so well fitted as Great Britain to discharge with sympathy and justice and efficiency the responsibilities that rest upon her shoulders. (Applause.) We all desire the coming of the thousand years of peace. I think the theory of empire which commends itself to all of us is not that which is founded on military glory, and that we would be glad if the prayer of all the nations were "Not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." But that day has not dawned, and I fear that many generations will pass before it does dawn upon this human and very imperfect world. (Applause.)

EMPIRE DAY BANQUET

For the second time in the history of the Empire Club the Empire Day Banquet was graced with the presence of Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and Princess Patricia.

A brilliant and representative Assembly gathered on May 26th at the King Edward Hotel.

Hon. James Craig, President, in proposing the toast of the Royal Guests, said:—

Your Royal Highness, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—For the second time this Club has been honoured by the presence of His Royal Highness, our Governor-General and Her Royal Highness, The Duchess of Connaught.

We rejoice with the whole of Canada on the recovery of Her Royal Highness from her serious illness, and that she is again with us restored to health.

We welcome Their Royal Highnesses here to-night with the most heartfelt gladness, and again thank His Royal Highness for the great honour conferred on this Club by his gracious consent to become, as he now is, our honorary president.

It was the hope of this Club that an Empire Day celebration such as this is might be held in all parts of the Empire at the same hour, and that by mutual congratulations and messages we might give expression to the unity and cohesion of the whole nation, and we still hope that it is not a dream impossible of accomplishment.

That Empire Day means something was quite evident to any one going about Toronto yesterday. On the public buildings, places of business, residences, even on little suburban cottages, the Flag was flying. That it may ever fly as it did yesterday, is the ardent hope of this Club.

The aims and desires of the Club are too well known for me to take up any time enlarging on them, especially as other gentlemen are to speak to the toast of Canada and the Empire.

We stand for the unity of the Empire now, and in the future.

Not a sentimental union only, but a practical, real and working union.

We believe that the time is ripe for it, and that the evolution which time works in nations and constitutions will soon bring it to pass.

We believe the people of Canada are ready for such a working union because we are a logical people and an honest people, we like to pay our way, and we know that some practical union must exist, or instead of growing closer we will drift apart. And that we would regard as a calamity not only for ourselves, but for the Empire. What the details of that union will be we do not pretend to determine, we are concerned only for the principle, and can trust the genius of British and Canadian Statesmen to work out a harmonious agreement.

We love our Constitution and our laws. We are the freest and most law-abiding people on the earth. Our law-making is in our own hands, therefore we gladly obey.

Our Sovereign is honoured and beloved, and we are a contented people.

It is true we are a democratic people but not a fearful unintelligent democracy, afraid for our democracy, and that it may be stolen from us in some mysterious way. We respect ourselves, and therefore we respect our rulers and our Constitution.

Proud of our lineage and race: Proud of our history and all that we, as a nation, have done for freedom and civilization. We know of no greater destiny for ourselves and our children than a continued and closer union with the Mother Land.

To promote this Imperial idea the Empire Club exists and we need no other justification for our existence.

This country has been greatly fortunate in an illustrious line of governors, but I think I am well within the mark, when I say that no Governor-General that we have had was welcomed more cordially on his arrival, and none more sincerely missed and regretted on his departure, than will be our present Governor-General, His Royal Highness.

The presence of His Royal Highness and of the Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia in the country has done good, and only good.

We have seen the warm and active interest he has taken in the life and development of the people, going to all parts of the country, sparing neither time nor energy in learning all that could be learned about us, and whereever he has gone he has left behind him memories that will be cherished for many years.

We know that he has made himself our friend, and his kindness and gracious presence will be long remembered by the people.

Our beloved Sovereign could have done no kinder or wiser act than to send his uncle to be our Governor-General.

We know how to honour the person and the throne of our Sovereign, and the person and position of his viceroy here. We also know his great humanity, and his deep and paternal interest in all that concerns our welfare. And this we realize all the more fully since His Royal Highness came and dwelt among us as our Governor-General and friend.

No one who has lived in this country for the past two years can have failed to note the kindly and affectionate feeling that has grown in the hearts of the people for the person of His Royal Highness and for his family. Thus strengthening, if possible, the ties that bind us to our King and our country.

Who can say that such assured results of His Royal Highness' term of office, as our Governor-General, can have any but the best effect on the loyalty of the people, and on the cause of Imperial unity?

I ask you to drink the health of His Royal Highness, also of Their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Connaught, and the Princess Patricia.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught: Mr. President, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen, in the name of the Duchess and myself, as well as my daughter, we thank you for the kindly terms in which you have proposed this toast. I can assure you that we appreciate very much that constant kindly feeling that we always meet with when we go anywhere amongst the people of this Dominion. We meet here on an important occasion to celebrate the anniversary of the Queen, now dead; and I remember the occasion on which I was here two years ago. I am happy to hear that the number of the club has considerably increased; I feel convinced that nothing but good can come of the annual gatherings and of the objects of the Empire Club. You, sir, have shown what are the causes, what are the means by which this Empire hangs together. They are, as you justly say, our common heritage from the Mother Country. They are the pride in the liberties, and the love of obedience to our laws. But wherein lies the whole of this great strength? The whole of this great strength is in that we are a free people. (Hear, hear.) The laws of the country are made by the people. The sovereign is he who interprets the wishes of the people—(Hear, hear)—and at the same time his people recognize that he has their interests at heart, that he represents one who always is in sympathy with the people, and it is that feeling—if I may venture to say so—of monarchical democracy that we in this Empire perpetuate. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We recognize that it is for our good, and certainly Canada, since our late Gracious Sovereign gave the Dominion its constitution, has made great strides. It has been proud of its position in the Empire, and nobly has it taken its place among the great Dominions that form that Empire. My one wish and hope is that Canada will always be first in the Empire, and I am sure that those to whom I am speaking to-day will appreciate with me how much Canada has already done, and how much it can still do for the greatness of the Empire of which it is so important a Dominion. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the very kind reception you have given me, and I again assure you in the name of the Duchess and myself and my daughter how much we appreciate the reception you have given us. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: I will ask Sir William Mulock to propose, and Mr. Bennett, M.P., to respond to the toast of Canada and the Empire.

Sir William Mulock was greeted with applause and said: May it please Your Royal Highnesses, Your Honour, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I share in your disappointment that that gifted French-Canadian, Mr. Lemieux, is not to be present to-night, and to enable us to enjoy the pleasure of his presentation and word-painting of the idea involved in the toast, which, in his absence, the Chairman has asked me now to propose the toast to Canada and the Empire. Many a time have I in rapt admiration listened to the French-Canadian speakers giving expression to true sentiments entertained by them, those of intense devotion to our flag; and after long years of close intimacy with the French-Canadian leaders of public thought, I have the deepest conviction that of all the races that to-day constitute the British Empire, no one of them exceeds the French-Canadian section of the Canadian people in the fixed, resolute determination to maintain at all cost the integrity of the great British world Empire. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And so, Mr. Chairman, I with you deplore it that it is not our good fortune to-night to listen to one of that race speak to us for himself and for his people. We are very fortunate in the seconder of the motion, if not in the proposer. We have with us to-night one of Canada's gifted sons, a patriotic, learned and eloquent man from the west, one of the prominent public men of Canadian public life to-day, and I am sure you are all most anxious to hear from him. I shall merely whet your appetite for the feast that is awaiting you at his hands, by delaying just for a moment the time when you will seek to devour his words. So I turn for a moment, in seeking to delay you, to the toast I am asked to propose, Canada and the Empire. May I ask, what do these terms suggest to the Canadian mind?—Canada and the Empire. Am I right in saying that it suggests to us an empire, one and indivisible and indissoluble? (Hear, hear.) Am I right in saying that it suggests to us an empire of resources beyond the dreams of avarice? Am

I right in saying that it suggests to us an Empire, mistress of one quarter of the habitable globe; may I say mistress of the whole high seas of the globe? Such is the British Empire; such is the institution which we are assembled to honour this evening. Never before in the history of the world has the sun shone upon a land of such possibilities, of such vast proportions, of such power. Never before has there existed on this earth any human instrument so capable of creating and advancing the welfare, not only of its own people but also that of the rest of the human race. To turn the pages of recent history and observe the great accessions to the area of our Empire, one might think that the Empire existed for the purpose of conquest; but analyze the additions to her territory, and you will find that idea dissipated. The Empire does not exist, if I understand the object of its existence, for the purpose of conquest, but for the purpose of promoting human happiness, and to the end that that happiness may be attained the problem is ever present to those who are in charge of her destinies for the time being. We in Canada are enamoured of the British Empire, because its policy makes for liberty and justice, not liberty and justice for the few only, but for the many; not liberty and justice for the many only, but for all, for the weakest and humblest of the four hundred million citizens who compose the British nation, each one of whom, moved by generous recognition of the blessings of good government, loyally, reverentially, respectfully, uncovers his head when his King goes by. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Why does he so uncover his head? Not only because of his Sovereign's worth, great as it may be, not only because his Sovereign is one of a long line of noble ancestors, whom we all revere, but because the Sovereign of the day is, as His Royal Highness intimated a moment ago, the living embodiment and illustration of the constitutional system which has obtained throughout the Empire since the long distant past, and which throughout its ages and centuries of existence has proved itself elastic enough to meet the needs, the wishes, and the conditions of the people as the days roll by. (Applause.) And that history of that constitution, its successful trial in all these years, stands forth as a pledge to the people of the day and of tomorrow that it has been effective to guard the interests of the people in the past, so it may be depended upon to bring forth in the future, as occasions demand, all those measures so essential for the promotion of the happiness of the people. For those reasons the nation is strong, because of the people's love for their institutions. Love of country is a nation's safety, and the British Empire, rich in the love of its people, rests upon the surest foundations that can support a nation. We in Canada have followed the example handed down to us by the Mother of Parliaments. We in Canada to-day, a young giant, the Canadian people, admire the Empire because of its record and because of its promises, and Canada to-day, part of that Empire, loyal to itself, loyal to the Empire as a whole, a young giant, a chip off the old block, a cub of the old lion, proud of the past history of the Empire, confident in its future—may I ask you to drink to that sentiment, Canada and the Empire. (Applause.)

R. B. Bennett, M.P., was greeted with applause and responded to the toast as follows: Your Royal Highnesses, Your Honour, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I assure you I consider it a great privilege and high honor to speak to you to-night on the subject that has been so splendidly proposed by Sir William Mulock. I am conscious of the great work the Empire Club has been and is doing in this community. It may well be that Empire Clubs do not get their due, and the people who walk the street are not conscious of the silent influences that make for the permanency and solidarity of this Empire, but these societies and clubs scattered throughout Canada have been and are doing work greater than it is possible for me to tell, and a work which I believe the future historian will regard as of permanent and striking character. I should like to pay a tribute to the work of the Daughters of the Empire; the work they have done throughout Canada is worthy of the commendation of every high-souled and high-minded man who is worthy of being called a Briton, and I am sure too, that when the history of this movement towards Imperialism is written, you will agree with me that we shall find ourselves much indebted to the Daughters of the Empire. It is fitting, too, that a club bearing a name such as this should have to-night as guest of honour one whom I consider the greatest of the Empire's living servants,—(Applause)—If you consider it either from the standpoint of years of toil or the varied character of that service—representing two sovereigns in a personal capacity, that great and good mother queen, whose name and fame are the common property of all races and all creeds, and who is known to history as Victoria the Good, and that brother who for all too short a time ruled, and yet who made a place for himself in history as Edward the Peacemaker. Whether you consider it in that capacity, or as a soldier, sharing the joys and sorrows, the defeats and the rewards incident to the high profession of arms, as diplomat, as military administrator, as Ambassador, or as Governor-General, His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, has discharged greater service to this Empire that any living servant of the Crown. (Applause.) And the presence here this evening of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught reminds us that through all these years of toil, and of joy and sorrow, she has been his companion; and her presence here speaks not more for her ideas and regard for the solidarity of the Empire than it is a recognition of the fact that she is once more in health and strength, and that she has recovered from an illness which in my judgment and in the judgment of those who saw Their Royal Highnesses' tour through Western Canada, was due entirely to her high devotion to what she conceived to be her duty—(Applause)—duty and devotion to her family and to this country and to our Empire. Her name, if I might speak it in all reverence, will always be coupled in our minds with those words that are dearest to all of us, I think,—wife and mother. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, I am deeply conscious of my inability in the short time at my disposal to make any adequate remarks on what I conceive to be the debt of this

Dominion to other portions of the Empire, but I would like to point out that we live in troublous times, that the future of this great number of self-governing Dominions, it seems to me, and of the Empire itself, must be determined within the lifetime of the youngest men and women here to-night. It is no idle thing to say we have made some progress during these years. The genius of Chatham induced twelve thousand volunteers of Massachusetts to add their service to the Crown in the capture of Louisburg in 1758. Chatham had a well conceived scheme by which he hoped that these portions of the Dominions might find representatives in the Commons and Lords of England. He did not live to see his efforts realized. He had protested against that great crime which made it possible that our colonies to the south should break off and make another nation. Against that school of Peel and Chatham a reaction set in, and England devoted herself to domestic affairs, she devoted herself to trade matters, and there grew up a school that cared nought for the decaying outposts of Empire, that forgot the pioneers, that remembered not the blood and treasure of her best loved sons that laid down their lives that this land might belong to you and me. Lord John Russell in 1815 said the ultimate destiny of these great dependencies was to become independent. But at last there arose in the genius and mind of Disraeli the thought that these should become in fact and truth part of the great Empire, and so speaking at the Crystal Palace in 1872 he said that statesman would be recreant to his trust who did not do everything in his power to sympathetically engage the sentiment and affection of the colonies to the Motherland, and who did not discharge his duty to the Motherland, having regard to the greatness and potential greatness of the Colonies. Since then progress has been slow, but the movement has been forward. If I mentioned Chatham as a man who had the genius to appeal to the imagination of the Colonials of that day, there arose another man as Colonial Secretary in our day whose genius foresaw the possibilities of United Empire, whose vision and statesmanship saw the appeal to the imagination of the Colonies, just as his predecessor had, and when Chamberlain appealed, he appealed not in vain—(Applause)—to the greatness of the men who lived over seas, whether they lived in South Africa, in Australia, in New Zealand or in Canada. They rallied around the flag, offering their lives in blood and sacrifice that this Canada might continue, and its perpetuity be assured. I thought there was a permanent solution when I saw our troops marching to the front, to South Africa, but alas, there can be no permanent solution where questions of Empire are at stake until there is some organic union and basis for a permanent settlement. And so it comes that we are still pounding away, as they say in the West, at the same old subject, making a little progress here and a little progress there, carrying forward the movement, and the question we in Canada must face now, and face grimly, too, as young and old Canadians, is, What ideals shall we carry forward, and what shall be our future? Shall we carry forward the ideas that have come down to us through all these years, shall we retain our splendid traditions that have come down to us through history, shall we have regard to the men who offered their blood and treasure in distant parts of the world that we might live in peace in this land, or shall we within ourselves say we are content to be independent and become a great and free people? I hold it true that no British statesman will lift his hand if we say we must become independent. Time after time they have said, If the time has come that you must cut the painter and drift out in the open sea, and take upon yourselves the high responsibilities and burdens of independence, we will not say you Nay. But I do not believe that finally Canadians desire that we should become an independent people. (Applause.) My friends, we are a great and free people, we enjoy the greatest freedom of any people under the sun. Our monarchical democracy is the finest democracy the world has ever known. We have a government responsible directly to the representatives of the people, and we have a Sovereign that, as has been aptly said this night, only reflects the will of the people. That being so, what greater freedom of action could we ask? This is an age of consolidation, it is an age of great things and large things; shall we break away from that Empire and become an independent state? Shall we say we are sufficient unto ourselves? Or shall we like men bear the responsibilities that have come to us through all these years past? That after all is the large problem before us. It seems to me, considering what the solution of the problem shall be, we sometimes forget that after all a Briton is not necessarily one born in the British Isles. I hold myself as much a Britisher this night as though I were born within the sound of Bow Bells. (Applause.) The British Empire does not consist of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; it does not consist of Canada; it does not consist of New Zealand; it consists of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dependencies beyond the Seas, all these great self-governing colonies that have the boon of the vote, they have the boon of self-government, with liberty, equality under the law, and all they hold most precious. This is the British Empire, and we are Britons whether we be born in the British Isles, or in Canada or in Australia, or in New Zealand, we are Britishers. If once we let sink into our minds that thought, that geographical boundaries do not divide us, that these traditions are our common traditions, it seems to me we have got at least to the bottom of a part of the problem, and we may approach it freely and fairly. There was a school of thought which prevailed at one time in this country, by which it was thought that they only were Britons who were born in the United Kingdom. That idea has vanished. The wide vision of a larger hope is in the minds of men, and they see in this day of large things that you and I, being Britons quite as much as the men who inhabit the British Isles, must bear our corresponding part of that great responsibility and obligation. (Applause.) Now, my friends, if I have made clear that point, and I think it is abundantly clear to all of us, there follows this consideration, how long must it be that a Parliament, elected only by those who live within the British Isles, must determine the destinies of peace and war, the great vital destinies, of the state? The great voice of Chatham was raised, the great voice of Adam Smith, the economist, was heard, the great voice of the thoughtful men of the eighteenth century was heard saying that until such time as we as a people, that is the people of Britain, realized that there could be no adequate taxation, no adequate legislation dealing with the future of these great states beyond the visions of the little Islands, until there was representation; that great principle, they said, must sink into the minds and hearts of the people of Britain. To-day Great Britain is torn asunder, by great domestic questions; they are arrayed in hostile camps, one party saying one thing, the other the other. How long must it continue that this Parliament must deal with the vital questions of life and death of this nation? It is not an Imperial Parliament to-day, except in name. In a truly Imperial Parliament, dealing with other portions of the King's Dominions, you must find representation for every people of the King's Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the outlying portions of those great Dominions. All these great dominions must find representation either in this Parliament or in some body or council or authority that has the power and the legislative authority to deal with the whole Empire as a whole. (Applause.) My friends, it is towards that great object that this Club has given of its best, to that great object that men, scattered throughout the Empire, in Cape Town, in Melbourne, in Sydney, in Bombay, in Ottawa, and in this broad city of Toronto, are giving the best of their intellects and time and attention. The solution of that problem lies with the generation of to-morrow. I venture to think that within twenty-five years that problem will be solved. It is not for me to say how it will be solved, but it is for me to point out that it is impossible that this condition should long continue, that the people of this Canada should find themselves not represented imperially. But, you answer me, why should they have representation when the people who live in England are paying the piper? (Applause.) That is very fair, but this is not the moment for disputatious discussion, and you all know my views, so I pass it by. But there will dawn another day, and I believe myself, speaking sincerely and honestly to-day, that the great mass of the people of Canada and Overseas everywhere are ready and willing to bear their share of the responsibility and obligation. (Applause.) It might of course be difficult to work it out to harmonize with the views of us all; time will do that. Time has a happy faculty of smoothing over all difficulties. How these things will be worked out I know not, but it is for the thoughtful minds of young and old, men and women, to believe in a consolidated Empire rather than a broken Empire that this should be so. There are so many reasons that have made for federation and Empire, ties of blood, ties of literature, and history, and race, and the constitution and the King. And it is only fair, I think, that I should say, and I voice the views of thoughtful Canadians, that those who lay hands lightly on the constitution that is held in trust for all the people of all these dominions, that would imperil by any possibility the high regard and deep-rooted esteem that is in the minds of all for the constitution and the King, will have done something that we will not judge him lightly for. This is at least a thought in my mind, and in the minds of many Canadians at the present moment.

Then, my friends, one word more. You and I are bearing our responsibility of Empire; we bear it alike for the self-governing dominions as well as for the subject races. Did it ever occur to you that England is not in India just because she wants to be there, that England does not rule Egypt just because she would like to rule Egypt? No petty regard for territory or for advancement impels the rulers of England to extend their power to India and Egypt. We are there because under the Providence of God we are a Christian people that have given to the subject races of the world the only kind of decent government they have ever known. (Applause.) We are the only colonizing race that has been able to colonize the great outlying portions of the world and give the people the priceless boon of self-government, and we have educated men year after year until at last those who were once subjects became free, and those who were free became freer, and you and I must carry our portion of that responsibility if we are to be the true Imperialists we should be. Someone has asked me What is an Imperialist?

"Some they call us jingoes, and some they scoff and scorn," some say we are only boasting of our greatness and the splashes of red on the map and the 450 million people under the British Crown. These are not the things of which we boast. It was Kipling who said:

> If drunk with sight of power, we loose
>   Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
> Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
>   Or lesser breeds without the law,—
> Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
> Lest we forget, lest we forget.

These are not the things that make Empire, these are not the things we are proud of; that is not how I would define it. An Imperialist, to me, means a man who accepts gladly and bears proudly the responsibilities of his race and breed. (Applause.) If that be so, what a trust is ours, what a trust is ours! What a splendid trust it is, to think that you and I are the trustees for posterity, that you and I will one day be measured by the manner in which we have discharged our obligations to those subject races and the millions of people that one day must fill the great fertile fields of the west, the great plains of Australia, that will cover the great lands of South Africa and New Zealand. If that thought sinks into our minds, how can you and I think of independence, how can we be concerned about an independent Canada? Eight or nine million people could not discharge the responsibilities that have come down to us; we cannot be true to the race from which we are sprung. If, believing these things, and I know we must believe them, if we are students of history, if we believe the British Empire is no accident, if we believe under the Providence of God we are given freedom, justice, equality, laws well enforced, a proper conception of law and discipline, and all these things that go to make a people great, we have developed character, without which there can be no people, we have given men ideals, without which there can be no state; if we have done these things, how can we talk of an independent Canada? An independent Canada means this, that we Canadians are afraid of responsibility and obligation of power, afraid to accept the responsibilities of our race and breed, afraid to think we are Britons, afraid to face the future in the eye. Since when was that the passport to citizenship? Since when was it the *sine qua non* of Canadian citizenship? My friends, it must not be, it cannot be. You and I in the fulness of our stature, with a realization and acceptance of our full responsibilities must be prepared to give our lives, our minds, our brains, all we have, to the development of that thought, that in unity there is strength, and that the strength of this great Empire is the world's preservation, the preservation of our civilization, the preservation of our Christianity. My friends, if you believe in these things, you believe that with the future of our race, the future of our country lies in the continued development of those high ideals, those lofty aspirations, those thoughts not of rewards nor honours but those thoughts that life spells service, that service means work, and that the greatest reward that can come to men or women in this world of ours is that when we go down the western side of life, and lay down the burden, we can look back upon work well done. If we can do that, I am content. Let us develop a spirit of Imperial consciousness. That is the only hope, it seems to me, Imperial consciousness. What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? This is a material age; what shall it profit Canada if they all be millionaires, if they have the riches of the Orient, what matters it, if we lose character, if we lose ambition, if we lose aspiration, if we lose lofty ideals? If we lose these things then we shall have lived in vain, but Imperial consciousness, a sense of our obligation to posterity, a regard for the past, a lively hope for the future, let us have these, then we shall have discharged our duties, and we shall not have lived in vain. (Prolonged applause.)

The toast to the ladies was proposed by Hon. W. H. Hearst as follows: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I assure you this is an honour that I prize very highly indeed, proposing such an important toast in such a magnificent assemblage. I only wish it had been given to someone of more mature years and more experience, but as I understand my good friend Mr. Rowell is to respond to it, I know his age and experience and other qualifications will make up for what I lack in proposing. I am sure we have all been delighted to-night at the presence with us of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, our honored, beloved and admired Governor-General, but I think there is perhaps one other fact that has given us greater pleasure and satisfaction, and that is that Her Royal Highness the Duchess has been spared to us, and has been spared and permitted to grace this occasion. (Applause.) We as Britons love, admire and appreciate ladies the world over, but we are conceited enough and egotistical enough to think that a woman does not attain her greatest beauty or her greatest development until her cheeks have been kissed by our Canadian sun, and so we feel to-night that Her Royal Highness is particularly ours in that she has been some months in this Canada of ours, and when she goes back to the Old Land she will take with her the love and admiration and good wishes of every Canadian from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We have a special interest in Her Royal Highness, Princess Patricia, for you know within the ample folds of this Province we have set aside a district, a kingdom that Her Royal Highness has permitted us to name after her, and so if she comes back we hope that she will rule as queen over that district. I am sure, gentlemen, we are all honoured and delighted to-night with the presence of the ladies and their kind condescension in gracing this occasion with their presence. Let me conclude by saying: Woman, win her and wear her when you can, the most delightful of God's creatures, Heaven's greatest gift, man's pride and joy in his prosperity, his comfort and hope in the day of adversity. Gentlemen, please rise and drink the health of the ladies. (Applause.) The toast was drunk, and was responded to by N. W. Rowell, K.C., as follows: Your Royal Highnesses, Your Honour, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposer of this toast has a decided advantage over the one who is called upon to reply. Few men, if they are wise men, but have some experience in proposing to ladies; very few have the privilege of replying on their behalf. I desire, Mr. President, to join in the remarks of Mr. Hearst in reference to the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and of the Duchess at this gathering this evening. I am sure my friend has expressed the heartfelt sentiment of all the people of Canada in these words which he has uttered with reference to their presence here, and their presence in our Dominion. The toast to the ladies is sometimes looked upon as a formal toast; I suppose that is because we are all conscious of our inability to do justice to it. And yet, Mr. President, the toast to the ladies can hardly be a formal toast at an Empire Club dinner to celebrate Empire Day. The very name suggests the name of womanhood, and it is interesting for us to recall how we have our Empire Day. We first celebrated, in childhood's years, the Queen's Birthday, and next to Christmas there was no other holiday in Canada so dear to the children at least, and, I am quite sure, dear to the grown-ups as well, the 24th of May, the Queen's Birthday. (Hear, hear.) Then it changed from the Queen's Birthday to Victoria Day, and now by a natural process of development to Empire Day. For I venture to think that in the chapters of British history no two sovereigns have had quite so much to do with the development of the idea of Empire as the two great queens who have ruled over Britain in the centuries that are past; for was it not under Elizabeth that England found her place in the sun and was recognized as a world power? Was it not under Queen Elizabeth that we had the beginnings of what to-day is the Empire? Was it not under Queen Elizabeth that the navy, which is to-day the Empire's strength and defence first won for England her place upon the high seas? These great characteristics of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were more than equalled, nay greatly surpassed, in the reign of the most illustrious woman of our time, Queen Victoria. (Applause.) Was it not under Queen Victoria that our Empire found the period of her greatest expansion? Was it not under Queen Victoria that that ideal of United Empire received its greatest development, and we in Canada rejoice with all the other citizens throughout the Empire because of the great work done by and under Queen Victoria.

Just this word in conclusion: I think it is only right to say, in speaking in behalf of the ladies to-night, that they share with their brothers, the men, their pride in the Empire, in all it means, and in all the strength and glory of its future. For if we would turn back the pages of British history we would find no more striking illustrations of courage, of faith, of patience, and of heroism, than the pages which tell us of the achievements of some of the noble characters, some of the women of the Empire, in all parts of the Empire. Not only is this true, but after all the strength and security of the Empire rests in vastly more than arms, in vastly more than fleets, in vastly more than achievements on the battle field; the strength of the Empire rests in the homes of the people. (Applause.) May one venture to make this remark, that we have not yet commenced to estimate the real contribution to the cause of Imperial Unity made by the late Queen? By her life, by her devotion to duty, by the splendid illustration of what we sometimes call humble, and yet noble, virtues of wife and mother, she won a place in the hearts and affections of all the people of the Empire, which developed a spirit of personal attachment and personal loyalty to the Crown and Throne which it would take a mighty convulsion to shake. (Applause.) I think, therefore, we may truly say, not only in the expansion of the Empire, but in the development of the true imperial ideal, the spirits of the queens who have ruled over us have made a large and invaluable contribution. They have made it, and so has every woman of the humblest home in the remotest corner of the Empire, who is doing her part in establishing a true home, exemplifying the truth of that old English word "home" in practical life, and helping to rear up a family of children who in the days to come will help to contribute to the strength of the Empire. The homes of the Empire are our best guarantee for the strength and stability and power of the Empire in the days to come. I thank you on behalf of the ladies for the manner in which you have received this toast. (Applause.)

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada was held on May 29th, when the President's and Secretary's Reports were received and adopted, and R. J. Stuart, Esq., 3rd Vice-President of the previous year, was unanimously elected President for 1914-1915.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
1912-13

LIFE MEMBERS AS IN VOL. X.

Abbott, F. E.
Addison, Dr. W. L. T.
Aikens, Dr. W. H. B.
Abbott, Arthur
Armstrong, J. J.
Aird, John A.
Alley, H. R.
Anderson, Rev. J. Bennett
Alley, J. A.
Aspden, T. F.
Arnoldi, Frank, K.C.
Alexander, J. F.
Atkinson, Jos. E.
Anderson, George
Arrell, F. C.

Beardmore, A. O.
Boeckh, E. C.
Bredin, Mark
Brown, Dr. J. Price
Brock, W. F.
Bruce, Col. Jno.
Brigden, Geo.
Boyd, J. Tower
Boulter, Geo. E.
Brooks, W.
Burnham, Dr.
Bull, Dr. Emerson
Bruce, Dr. Herbert A.
Beatty, E. P.
Beatty, H. A., M.R.C.S.
Beatty, S. G.
The Lord Bishop of Toronto
Bowers, A. S.
Brophy, H.
Buck, W. A.
Burns, Stephen W.
Boswell, J. A.
Barrett, A. L.
Burnaby, R. W. E.
Berkinshaw, Walter E.
Brett, Prof. G. S.
Boyd, A. A.
Berman, Rev. Paul L.
Burritt, Horace W.
Bentlev. Albert J.
Bourlier, Harry C.
Birmingham, A. H.
Black, S. W.
Barr, Walter J.
Baldwin, L. H.
Baker, Prof. Alfred
Blackwell, M.
Bowman, R. B.
Butler, F. T.
Brooks, J. W.
Best, T. H.
Belcher, Lt.-Col. A. E.
Blain, Hugh
Begg, H.
Beer, G. Frank
Beatty, Capt. Jas. P.
Blackford, F. A.
Barber, R. A.
Balfour, D. A.
Barton, Chas. Farnum

Chadwick, E. M.
Cody, Rev. H. J.
Cory, C. D.
Crane, Samuel
Cromarty, R. R.
Curry, J.
Campbell, Geo. H.

Clarke, J. B.
Carswell, Robt.
Cutten, L. F.
Cleal, J. P.
Clark, J. M., K.C.
Cawthra, W. H.
Currie, Maj. J. A., M.P.
Craig, Hon. Justice
Campbell, A. G.
Catto, John
Cook, H. G.
Cockshutt, W. F.
Croft, W.
Cox, H. C.
Christie, R. J.

Denison, Col. G. T.
Denton, His Honor Judge
Dunstan, K. J.
Dineen, W. F.
Dinnick, W. S.
Dineen, W. D.
Dewart, H. H., K.C.
Davidge, F. C.
Davis, B. N.
Donovan, A. E.
Dusseau, L. V.
Davis, Thos.
Duncan, E. J. B.
Defoe, C. W.
Dixon, J. F. E.
Douglas, Wm. J.
Dingman, R. G.
Dale, Jos. G.
DeGruchy, John
Denison, H. J. S.
Darling, A.
Dowall, R. J.

Ellis, Harry
Essex, Alfred
Ellis, W. G.
Eaton, J. C.
Eby, J. F.
Ellis, Jno. F.
Ellis, P. W.
Ellis, R. Y.
Ellis, J. F.
Elliott, Dr. C. S.
Elliot, Col.
Everett, A. J.

Fahey, Wm.
Forster, J. W. L.
Foster, Chas. C.
Fox, W. C.
Fletcher, H. C.
Forrest, J. Norman
Fasken, Robt.
Fairbairn, R. L.
Fairbairn, W. H.
Freyseng, E. J.
Fairweather, R. H.
Fleming, Atwell
Foster, J. M., B.A.
Fotheringham, Dr. J. T.
Foy, Hon. J. J., K.C.
Fullerton, J. L., K.C.
Fairbairn, R. D.
Firstbrook, John
Ferrier, W. F.
Fox, Arthur
Foreman, H. B.
Fensom, Geo. H.
Fraser, Prof. W. H.
Ferguson, Ross
Ford, N. W.
Ficer, Chas. E.
Fetherstonhaugh, J. H. M.

Gooderham, G. H.
George, Jas.
George, W. K.
Gilverson, A. E.
Goodman, A. K.
Grant, G. P.
Green, W. J.
Green, Miles W.
Grier, A. Munroe
Gooch, Fred
Greene, A. R.
Gardner, John C.
Gardner, J. Martin
Gordon, A. B.
Guest, A. E.
Gresham, Geo. R.
Gissing, E.
Grant, A.
Gooderham, Col. A. E.
Greer, R. A.
Garfatt, J. F.
Goggin, Dr. D. J.

Gourlay, R. S.
Gurney, Edw.
Gage, W. J.
Gigg, C.
Gilchrist, J.
Green, W. J.

Hall, Jno. E.
Hall, W. H.
Hales, Jas.
Haney, M. J.
Hardy, J.
Harding, C. Victor
Hawken, Jas.
Haynes, W. G.
Heaton, E.
Hector, Robt.
Henderson, S.
Hill, E. C.
Hill, F. W. J.
Hire, T. Foster
Holloway, Thos. W.
Horton, E. E.
Horwood, J. C. B.
Hunter, Capt. A. T.
Harris, Norman
Hook, Thos.
Howe, Gilbert
Howalnd, W. F.
Hutchins, J. B.
Holland, W. H.
Hopkins, Howard
Hollis, J. Fred
Hewitt, Arthur
Hessin, A. E.
Hertzberg, A. L.
Howard, A. H.
Hogg, A. O.
Houser, J. H.
Howe, H. J.
Harmer, R.
Hall, Rev. Alfred
Harris, Sam.
Hewitt, John
Hermiston, G. M., D.D.S.
Hart, Dr. J. S.
Hayes, F. B.
Hopkins, J. Castell
Hopkins, Dr. R. R.
Hughes, Jas. L.
Hocken, Mayor H. C.
Ham, Dr. Albert
Hindmarsh, H. C.
Heintzman, Geo. H.
Hudson, R. S.
Huffman, Louis
Howland, Peleg
Hart, S. R.
Hobberlin, A. M.
Hoyle, The Hon. W. H.
Heyes, H. R.
Heyes, S. T.
Howard, F.
Hales, Edward

Ireson, Chas.
Ingles, Ven. Archdeacon
Ireland, A. E.
Irving, W. H.

Johnston, H. W.
Jackson, A. J.
Jones, Sidney
Jaffray, Robt.
Jarvis, Aemilius
Jones, Jas. Edmund
Johnston, W. S.

Kirkpatrick, A. M. M.
Kynock, Jas.
Knowlton, W. H.
Kelley, Geo. M.
Keith, Alex.
King, G. W.
Klotz, E. W.
Kirkpatrick, G. B.
Kent, J. G.
Kirvan, T. A.
Kiely, P. G.

Langmuir, Jno. W.
Lawrence, Henry A.
Lee, Thos. H.
Levescout, Major H. C.
Loftus, J. T.
Loosemore, H. H.
Lorsch, D. G.
Lyon, N. T.
Langmuir, A. D.
Lamont, W. H.

Lee, Frank P.
Lorie, Solomon
Langlois, Herbert
Lee, W. Cecil
Lemon, W. E.
Lowndes, Chas.
Lytle, Fred H.
Lowndes, J. M.
Lang, Rev. D.
Laidlaw, H. D.
Lea, R. H.
Law, Capt. F. G.
Larmonth, J. H.

Martin, W. Hall
Marks, A. H. S.
Mason, Maj. J. C.
Mearns, F. S.
Meyers, Maj. D. C.
Millichamp, Reuben
Millman, Dr. Thos
Mitchell, Lt.-Col. J. H.
Mockridge, Jas.
Monypenny, J.
Monk, G. W.
Morren, E. W. S.
Morson, W. R.
Mulholland, R.
Muntz, G. Harold
Murray, Jas. P.
Murphy, Joseph
Musson, John G.
Miller, G. N.
Musson, Capt. Geo.
Miller, Prof. W. G.
Mitchell, C. H.
Massey, A. L.
Martin, H. J.
Munns, W.
Moseley, G. H.
Millichamp, Wallace
Mercer, M. S.
Mulholland, F. A.
Murphy, J. E.
Minehan, Rev. Father
Mercer, Frederick D.
Massey, Jno.
Marlow, Dr. Fred. Wm.
Marshall, Noel
Moorehouse, Dr. H. H.
Miller, John B.
Morang, Geo. N.
Michie, J. F.
May, Wm., Jr.
Manning, Rev. C. E.
Moberly, Thos. Edw.
Mortimer, Chas. H.
Mulock, Wm., Jr.
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Moneypenny, F. T.
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McMahon, Frank
McWhinney, J. M.
McTaggart, W. O.
MacLean, Frank W.
MacNab, Rev. A. W.
McMurtry, W. J.
McGee, Harry
McLachlan, J.
MacLeod, Norman G.
McEvoy, Jas.
McFarland, G. F.
MacDougall, A. Roy
McIntyre, W. T.
Macqueen, Col. F. W.
Macdonnell, A. C., M.P.
Mackay, John
Macrae, A. M.
Macdonald, Hugh J., B.A.
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McNight, Jno.
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McMillan, Thos.
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McCarthy, Controller
McDowell, A. H.
McBride, H.
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McColl, Major E. L.

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Norwich, J.
Neville, R.
Norman, Thos.
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Orr. W. H.
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O'Brien, Henry
Osborne, J. Ewert
Oram, H. T.
Outerbridge, L. G.
O'Meara, D. M.

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Paterson, Harry
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Ponton, Col.
Patterson, R. E.
Petles, Dean H.
Pearson, Jno. O.
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Peace, W. A.
Plumptre, Rev. Canon
Pope, Major W. W.
Pettit, J. H.
Perry, J. B.
Pyne, Hon. R. A.
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Patton, Dr. J. C.
Pepler, Dr. W. H.
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Radford, I. H.
Robertson, Thos.
Robertson, W.
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Ryrie, Harry
Russell, T. A.
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Rolph, F.
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Stone, Wm.
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Struthers, A.
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Symons, W. L.
Smith, Harold T.

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Tee, Geo. A.
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Vick, Chas. T.
VanDuzer, C. W.
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Wainwright, A. C. S., Capt.
Watson, T. H.
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Wood, W. A. P.
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Weir, Robt.
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Wright, Alfred
Walker, E. B.
Warwick, R. D.
Wilkie, Geo.
Wilks, A. J., K.C.
Williams, H. H.
Wilson, S. Frank
Wreyford, Chas. D.
Wright, E. F.
Will, Prof. J. Stanley
Webster, Dr. F. S.
Walker, G. Hawley
Wickett, S. R.
Wilkie, D. R.
Wood, J. E.
Wallace, J. J.
Watson, Geo. F.
White, R. H.

Yarker, G. W.
Young, Prof. A. H.
Yeigh, Frank
Young, Henry T. S.